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CHRIST AND ECONOMICS

CHRIST AND ECONOMICS

In the Light of the Sermon on the Mount

BY

CHARLES WILLIAM STUBBS M.A.

RECTOR OF WAVERTREE

AUTHOR OF "VILLAGE POLITICS" "CHRIST AND DEMOCRACY"

"THE LAND AND THE LABOURERS" ETC. ETC.

"Jesus Christ of Heaven in poor man's apparel pursueth us ever"

The Vision of Piers Plowman

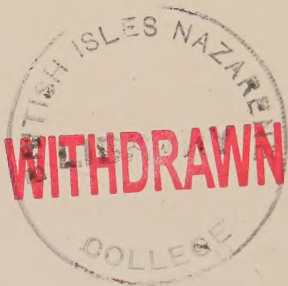
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TO

A. F. W.

THROUGH BOYHOOD AND MANHOOD

MY FRIEND.

PREFACE.

THE Sermons in the present volume were preached to Liverpool congregations during last year, on Sunday mornings at the Wavertree Parish Church, and on Sunday evenings at St. Bridget's Chapel of Ease. Although in choice of subject they are to some extent a departure from the conventional sermon, they make no claim to special originality of treatment. They were written from week to week in the ordinary course of pulpit ministration, and under stress at times of heavy parochial and city engagements, which have left, I fear, marks of hurry and incompleteness only too plainly visible. They are now published in deference to the wishes of many who either heard them in one or other of the churches, or read the summaries of them printed weekly in the newspapers, and who desired to possess them in a more permanent form.

In the hope that in this form they may be made somewhat more worthy of preservation, I have added a list of the books and papers which I chiefly consulted when writing. I would strongly recommend those of my readers who may wish to study the subject of

Christian Economics more fully, to do so in books which have either become recognised as authorities or deserve to be so, and to whose authors, at any rate, I would here desire for myself to express a very deep obligation.

Preached as these sermons were to congregations largely consisting of prominent Liverpool citizens and business men, it was my chief desire, as a teacher of Christian ethics, as a preacher of Christ's Kingdom on earth, to speak in such manner that each citizen of Liverpool should feel it a point of honour and Christian duty to build up, as far as his influence extended, the life of the great civic brotherhood to which he belonged, and of every sphere of action which it contained, in justice, righteousness and the fear of God.

In a word, to bring civic duty and service, and trade and labour ethics more closely into touch with Christian life and feeling was my aim. For while I believe that the present age is one of profound transformation, intellectual, economic, religious, I am yet entirely persuaded that in the principles of Christ lies the true solution of all our gravest modern problems.

WAVERTREE RECTORY, LIVERPOOL.

Easter, 1893.

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THE CHURCH IN THE CITY.

“The Glory of God did lighten the City.”—REVELATION OF
ST. JOHN xxi. 23.

“From day to day and strength to strength . . . build up
indeed by Art, by thought, and by just will, an Ecclesia
. . . . of which it shall not be said—‘See what manner of
stones are here,’ but, ‘See what manner of men!’”—J. RUSKIN.

THE CHURCH IN THE CITY.

THE City of which St. John is speaking here is "the Holy City" of his heavenly vision, which he said he saw "coming down from God," and like to a new Jerusalem.

Professor Drummond, in his clever little tract on "the City without a Church," which I dare say many of you may be reading this Christmas, has pointed out very vividly how, even in the days of St. John at Ephesus, it must have been a bold and daring thought to picture Heaven *as a City*; not as a Paradise, as a garden of quiet, peaceful repose; not as an Elysian field of dreamy reverie; not as an Eastern Nirvana of absolute passivity; but as a City, with streets, and gates, and walls, and market place, and all the multitudinous crowd-

ing interests of a great working centre of human life.

Well, and the thought is still strange and novel to us, is it not?

We do not, I suppose, any one of us, naturally picture Heaven as a New Liverpool, a merely reformed and perfected municipality, such as we might well conceive it possible our great city might one day become?

And yet, why not?

Because, I think, we have not yet, most of us, learnt the full lesson of the old seer's Visions of the City, or even of the saying of the modern poet—

“’Tis Heaven must come, not we must go.”

We have not yet quite learnt that it is here and now that we are to begin to build Heaven; and that we shall do it best perhaps in such re-fashioning and ennobling of our city life, as shall make it possible by and by to see that our most perfect citizen is also our most perfect saint; that street life, home life, business life, municipal life in all the varied range of its

activities, is after all the best apprenticeship for the life of the City of God.

In the completed City, the new Jerusalem, St. John said "he saw no Temple," no Cathedral, no Church, and he was right. In the all-pervading sense of the presence of God the need of Ritual Worship will doubtless one day cease.

But that is not yet. And therefore I cannot think that Professor Drummond is quite right in his implied disparagement of mere Institutional Christianity in the much-needed lessons of present-day spirituality and practical religion of mercy and love, which he draws from his Vision of the Churchless City of the Perfect Future.

At any rate it is because I hold no less firmly than he does, and have as you know from the first in this pulpit placed in the fore-front of my teaching, the necessity for a Christian Gospel of Civic Duty and Municipal Service, as well as of Individual Salvation, that I venture to-night to propose for your thought, a subject of purely Institutional Christianity,

when I ask you to consider with me the place and function not only of a Church, but of a Cathedral Establishment in our city life.

You will, I am sure, readily recognise that the subject has been suggested to me by the memorable events which it is no exaggeration to say have during these last days marked an epoch in the history of Liverpool.

When a fortnight ago Mr. Gladstone received in St. George's Hall the freedom of this great City, it was natural in his picture of the growth and progress of Liverpool, full—as from so unparalleled a vantage ground of local memory and imperial achievement it could not fail to be—of noble incentive to civic duty and patriotism, that among the evidences of the visible greatness of the City, the great project of a Cathedral for Liverpool should follow closely in his thought the acknowledgment of the deep and honourable mark, which has during the last decade been made on the intellectual destinies of the community by the great and conspicuous foundation of University College.

“Liverpool”—as Mr. Gladstone reminded his fellow citizens—“has a distinguished name in the history of commercial enterprise. Let her strive for a name no less distinguished in the realm of Art and Letters; and still more in all those aims and interests which have to do with the unseen, with the education of the human soul and spirit in its highest aspects and highest capabilities. . . . Great wealth can only be redeemed from degradation by noble munificence and good expenditure. . . . There is something,” he continued, “in the idea of a Cathedral which appeals to the feelings of the community, and I confess I have confidence enough in the public spirit of the people of Liverpool to think that their feelings will be recognised, and that the miscarriage which has prevented that plan being carried into execution will only be temporary, and that no large number of years will pass before the project is resumed under happier auspices and brought to a satisfactory conclusion.”

My friends, am I wrong in thinking that all Liverpool Churchmen, of whatever school in

theology, whether Conformist or Nonconformist in matters of Church order and discipline, would gladly welcome the thought that the project of a worthy Cathedral for our City should once more be revived and carried to completion as the direct result and inspiration of the words of our most distinguished citizen ?

Such a fortune would not be without a happy parallel.

It may be known to some of you that the University College of Liverpool, whose new buildings, crowned with the lofty Jubilee Tower, have during this week been opened with so much stately ceremony and academic pageant and festal rejoicing, owed, if not its origin, a considerable part of its successful inauguration to a dream of Bishop Lightfoot, of Durham. At one of the meetings of the Liverpool Council of Education, at which he was present, he invited his audience to follow him for a few moments into Dreamland, and then he proceeded to draw a picture of the College buildings of the future University of

Liverpool, and with all the happy power of characterisation of which he was so consummate a master, he gave to each of the various halls and lecture-rooms and libraries and laboratories the appropriate name of some civic worthy of the past.

This week we have seen the realisation of the good Bishop's dream substantially complete. In connection with the foundation of professorial chairs, the names of at least ten men whom Liverpool delights to honour have been commemorated—Roscoe, Rathbone, Lyon-Jones, Brunner, Harrison, Grant, Holt, Walker, Derby, Gladstone.

My friends, in the future history of this great City do you not think it would seem a happy fortune if the record should tell how as the great academic foundation of University College, the centre of liberal education, of scientific research, of technical training, the home of Art and Letters, the focus of the intellectual life of the City, owed much of the inspiration of its origin to one great northern Churchman, a native of the town,

who, as Bishop of Durham, afterwards became a great leader of thought in England, so the ecclesiastical foundation of a Cathedral Church, with all its appropriate activities, spiritual, liturgical, social, philanthropic, owed its inception to the inspiration of another great northern Churchman, whose name must always add undying lustre to the roll of freemen in his native City, as that of one of the greatest statesmen, and one of the most distinguished scholars of the nineteenth century?

But whether that dream shall also be realised must depend largely on the temper of mind in which the Churchmen of Liverpool to-day, of all classes, regard the project of any such undertaking.

It is the fashion, I know, with some people to say that the Age of Cathedrals has gone by. And if, when we speak of a Cathedral, it is of the form of the building that we are mainly thinking, I dare say that the statement may have some truth in it. We are children of an age, as Lowell says,—

“That lectures—not creates,
Plastering our swallow-nests on the awful Past,
And twittering round the work of larger men,
As we had builded what we but deface.”

We cannot build, perhaps, such “poems in stone” as the great Gothic churches of the Middle Ages,—

“Grim with the Northmen’s thought
Of life and death and doom, life’s equal fee.”

But, my friends, if we cannot build such churches it can only be because we have lost the spirit of sacrifice, of devotion, of adoration, of simplicity of living, of modesty of thought, of gladness at the beauty of the works of God, and above all perhaps of *joy in the work of our own hands*, which is the secret of the great artist-builders of old. But to say that we have lost these things is to say surely that we have ceased to be Christians. No. I do not think it is true that we cannot build a Cathedral. But I do think perhaps it is better that we should first begin by building up these virtues in the lives of our citizens. Place the building of character first, the building of goodly stones will surely follow.

For it is in the proved usefulness of the work that can be done by a Cathedral Establishment, as a centre of Church life in such a City as ours, that we must find the chief justification for the magnificence or the grandeur of a building in which the Church would thus find its central home.

I am well aware, as Mr. Ruskin taught us long ago, "that a far better and more honourable offering is made to our Master in ministry to the poor, in extending the knowledge of His name, in the practice of the virtues by which that name is hallowed, than in any material presents to an earthly Temple of His. . . . Do the people need place to pray and calls to hear His word? Then it is no time for smoothing pillars or carving pulpits; let us have enough first of walls and roofs. Do the people need teaching from house to house and bread from day to day? Then they are deacons and ministers that we want, not architects."

And yet I do not forget that it is the same teacher who has reminded us "that the question is not between God's House and His Poor;

it is not between God's House and His Gospel. It is between God's House and ours. . . . I say emphatically that the tenth part of the expense which is sacrificed in domestic vanities, would, if collectively offered and wisely employed, build a marble church for every town in England; such a church as it should be a joy and a blessing even to pass near in our daily ways and walks, and as it would bring the light into the eyes to see from afar, lifting its fair heights above the purple crowd of humble roofs."

I will speak presently of the practical side of the question, but I am loth to pass by altogether the mere idealistic aspect of the subject.

Pardon me, if, for a few moments, I too take up the character of a dreamer, and ask you in imagination to dip into the future and see the glories that shall be.

It is the year of grace, 1912. The picture of our dream shall have for its foreground the banks of our noble river. Let us imagine ourselves crossing the bar at sunset and steaming up the Mersey. The night is a glorious one.

There is a full moon with drifting clouds. As we move slowly along, the great waterway is one brilliant expanse of dancing light. The river waves, broken into spray by the fresh wind, flashing into a myriad jewelled crests under the many crossing search-lights from the shore and from the anchored ships seem not so much to be intensified as rather to be subdued into harmony by the all-pervading moonlight, in which every detail both of the river life and the architectural outlines of the city stand out as in a Canaletto picture of the Grand Canal at Venice. How changed is the whole aspect of the river front ! On the dock walls, instead of the long lines of shedding, with their bare walls, there is now a magnificent river promenade, backed by splendid blocks of buildings, hotels, offices, residential palaces worthy of the old "Bride of the Sea" herself.

And what is this grand dome that stands out against the sky ? It is the Cathedral Church of St. Nicholas at the Port. We should hardly, I suppose, recognise at first that this "Grand' Place" is the site of the old George's Dock.

But so it is. Just as the Old Dock of Queen Anne's days had been filled up to make a site for the new Custom House, so the old George's Dock has been filled up and presented by the Dock Board to the City as a site for the new Cathedral. The Church itself stands back some sixty or seventy yards from the river, to which, since the removal of the old swimming-baths and the hideous yellow brick tramcar shelter, it is entirely open. Grouped round the central building, chiefly on the south side, a noble pile of collegiate-looking buildings have been erected. Here is the Church House, with its fine Chapter Hall and magnificent Library, and long range of offices connected with the various educational and philanthropic societies of the diocese. Next to it is the Lightfoot Theological Hall, a residential hostel in connection both with the Cathedral Chapter and also with University College. Beyond that again are the Deanery and Canons' residences. These latter have their frontage partly to the south and partly to the river promenade. They form two sides of a fine quadrangle,

which is completed by the Lightfoot Hall and the Church House Library. Standing in the gateway of Lightfoot Hall, at the south-west corner of the square, we get much the finest view of the Cathedral. The style of the building is Romanesque. Indeed, with the exception of the west front, it follows very closely the lines of Sta. Sophia, at Constantinople, one of the earliest, and perhaps grandest of all Christian churches. We shall be much struck by the massive grandeur of the building ; and, although we may have a prejudice in favour of Gothic churches, we shall not help feeling that, after all, this noble Basilica, with its semi-domes and vaulted roofs leading up to the grand sweeping outline of the central dome, surmounted by the great golden cross, seems to express that striving after higher things, which is the central thought of Christendom, far better than even the high-pitched roofs and pinnacled spires of Gothic architecture.

The western doors are approached by a broad flight of steps ; indeed the whole Cathedral is raised considerably above the level of

the square, and has the appearance of being built upon a wide platform, broken at various points by flights of steps. In the design of the great west front there is much that reminds one of St. Mark's at Venice. It has the same great open porches and clustered columns, and above on the flat roof of the narthex or outer portico, in place of the Greek horses and the Lion of St. Mark, the great figure of St. Nicholas, blazing in glory of golden strength, a bright centre of light visible for many a mile up and down the river, stands out against the background of the semi-dome above the inner portico.

The story of this piece of sculpture is interesting. It is the work of a young Russian sculptor of great ability. He was the son, it is said, of a sailor on board of one of the Baltic timber ships. He had been brought over by his father, and had been either lost or purposely deserted in the Liverpool streets. The little waif was picked up by an old night-watchman who had found the laddie one cold night curled up by the open fire in front of

his sentry box. Ultimately he had been placed in the Seamen's Orphanage. Here, of course, he was well cared for and educated. From quite early years the boy had shown signs of his future genius. The clay models of dogs and horses and all the sights of the City streets with which he diverted his schoolmates soon came to the notice of his teachers. In a small way they did what they could to cultivate his gift. In due course he was apprenticed to a well-known firm of marble cutters and ecclesiastical masons in the town. Here the lad soon made his mark. He was, however, only just out of his apprenticeship when, in open competition, his designs for the figure of St. Nicholas at the Port were accepted by the Cathedral Chapter.

The story goes that as a child there was no figure that the boy more often modelled than that of Santa Claus. It was perhaps the one memory he had of the old nursery stories which he must have heard at his mother's knee in the far-off Russian home. But always in those childish models the figure

of Santa Claus had been the figure of his dear foster father, the old City night-watchman. There are those who say that the grand Cathedral statue of the patron saint is after all only a sublimated portrait of that night-watchman. Well, I am not sure that there may not be something in it. But the statue is none the less—perhaps all the more—on that account a very noble figure indeed. And the rugged homeliness of its suggestion is of course quite in accordance with the old ecclesiastical legends of the Saint. For St. Nicholas you will remember was emphatically in the Middle Ages the Saint of the People, the Saint of Labour and of Serfdom, as St. George was of Chivalry and Knighthood. The good Bishop is represented as seated on his episcopal throne. As in the majority of the mediæval pictures, he is habited not in the cope and mitre of a Roman Bishop, but in the less formal robes of a Greek Bishop; but in deference, I suppose, to the traditions of Western Art, the crozier and mitre, which are the symbols of Western episcopacy, are held respec-

tively by two of the three attendant children, who stand as in the old pictures, one on either side of the throne. The third and youngest of the children is leaning against a great book, opened on the Bishop's knee, and looks up into the kindly face as if to ask some questions. The Bishop's left hand rests lightly in benediction on the child's head, but the Bishop's gaze seems far away across the waters of the river, as if watching wistfully the outward-bound and home-coming ships. For Santa Claus the guardian of children is also Saint Nicholas at the Port, the patron of sailors.

Full of strength and dignity as is the general pose of the figure, there is, still, as I have said, a certain indication of rugged homeliness about it which seems not inappropriate to what I conceive is the *motif* of the sculptor. The head well poised and shapely, indicative both of will and wisdom, is covered with that curiously shaped cap or biretta of a Greek Bishop, which in side view is not unlike a fisherman's sou'wester. The beard is short

and curly, and from under the deep brows the eyes look out keen, clear, bold, which yet, with all their kindliness, seem ready with the watchful steadiness of an old salt to pierce through the heart of a fog or a lie. The Bishop's right elbow rests on the arm of the throne, and the hand is stretched out with open palm towards the brazier of burning coals that at night time serves the purpose of carrying the electric light, which not only illumines the figure of the Bishop and the golden cross on the summit of the dome, but fills the great square with radiance, and sends a broad lane of beams far across the waters of the river.

Behind the figure the back of the throne rises like a lofty baldachino. One can hardly help wondering, when once the hint is given, whether in the shape of this canopy and the brazier of burning coals the sculptor intended to suggest once again the sentry-box and fire of the old City watchman. Certainly the text emblazoned in gold mosaic beneath the cornice seems to countenance this concep-

tion. It is the word of the Prophet, "Watchman, what of the night? The watchman saith, The morning cometh." The symbolic teaching of this great figure——

But here I awoke, and, behold, it was a dream.

Now, let me say this. It seems to me that, without waiting for the provision of a new Cathedral building, there are various directions in which a provisional Cathedral Chapter might discharge the responsibility, incumbent on such a central civic body, of educating public opinion on questions of social, moral, or administrative reform, of giving initiative to schemes of municipal philanthropy and education—in a word, of energising and inspiring the public conscience of the City.

Let me briefly suggest one or two of these directions.

I.—The Church in Liverpool needs some authoritative guidance in theology.

We live in an age of profound transformation, intellectual, religious, and social, necessitating the restatement of many old truths.

Evidently we are standing in the doorway of new times. A new world both of thought and of action is opening before us. New acquisitions of physical knowledge are daily upsetting old ideas. A general process of overhauling and testing has set in. Old religions, old philosophies are, as the phrase goes, on their trial. The elementary conditions of life have to be reconsidered. From various points of view the methods of adjusting these conditions to the necessities of modern civilisation have to be undertaken. Lessons derived from the experience of the past have to be applied to the new and developing conditions of the future. And yet, in the midst of all this disturbance of popular belief, the faithful laity are left practically without guidance. For no longer is it possible that they should be satisfied with mere bald statements of the old truths, or denunciation of the so-called new heresies. We want leaders of thought who, knowing that Reason is not incompatible with Faith, have made a life-study of the Holy Scriptures, in all the light which ripe scholar-

ship and reverent criticism can throw upon them.

If men of this calibre are not at present to be found in the ranks of the Cathedral Chapter let means be taken for attracting them to the service of the Church in Liverpool, and, if necessary, let special Canonries be instituted and endowed for such purpose. Let the ecclesiastical authorities deign to learn a lesson from the academic. In connection with University College, during the last ten years some dozen or so professorial chairs have been founded and endowed, with the result, as we all know, of attracting to Liverpool some of the most learned and brilliant scholars which the older Universities have produced during this generation, one of whom, at least, is of world-wide scientific reputation.

At the opening of the new Victoria buildings the other day, several of the distinguished guests expressed their astonishment that there was no Theological Faculty connected with the University. The endowment of a Professor of Theology is, I believe, precluded by the

statutes. But there are no such statutes to prevent the endowment of a Theological Canonry, in connection with the Liverpool Cathedral. If then there are loyal as there are wealthy Churchmen in Liverpool, who are anxious to see the Church of their fathers standing firm in her old truths, yet, because of the truth of Christ which makes her free, ready to assimilate all new material, to welcome and give its due place to all new knowledge, to bring forth out of her treasures things new and old, and to witness under the changed conditions of modern life to the catholic capacity of a faith which can be at once reverent, fearless, and robust, their course is plain. As at University College, professorial chairs have been endowed for the promotion of sound learning and scholarship, so in connection with the Cathedral foundation let canonical stalls be endowed for the promotion of Sacred Science and Pastoral Discipline. And if the names of civic worthies to commemorate have not been wanting to the academic roll of honour—Roscoe, Rathbone,

Holt, Derby, Gladstone,—certainly the Church memorial record need not fail—Bushell, Turner, Lightfoot, Aspinall, Whitley.

II.—Again, why should not the Church in Liverpool utilise the new foundation of University College by the establishment of a Theological Hall, side by side with the College, independent in administration, in discipline and finance, the members of which, however, should be students of the College, proceeding to degrees in Victoria University, taking up, in fact, such subjects in the curriculum of the University as, with the more directly theological studies and philanthropic activities of the Hall, would form an appropriate training to the future clergy of the Church?

I can well believe that if organised under a warden of the right sort, a considerable proportion of the residents would be members of the older Universities, attracted by the hope of being brought face to face with the social problems of the day, not only as they make themselves evident in magazines and reviews,

but in the homes and hearts of the people; and under conditions of skilled observation and religious training which the co-operation of University College with a Clergy School in a large northern town could so well supply.

It has been truly said by the present Bishop of Truro, when Vicar of Leeds and head of its newly founded Clergy School, "The sins of a great City and the divine requirements of a great town bend a man's knees and agonise his heart as no other spot on earth can do. . . . We want our clergy to be more than divines; they are only one-sided men, only half-candidates at best, if they don't know something of man as well as God. . . . I believe that our clergy can best be trained in a great City both for town and village work."

A "Lightfoot Hall," combining, as I think it very well might, the best features of Toynbee Hall in Whitechapel, the Pusey House at Oxford, and the Clergy School at Leeds, might thus commemorate in another Liverpool name a Bishop, a theologian, and a leader whose qualities of scholarship and broad catholicity

we would all gladly see reproduced in the clergy of our Northern Church.

III.—Again, the Church in Liverpool needs a more comprehensive policy in regard to Public Education.

Does the provisional Chapter give any help in this respect? Three of the Honorary Canons, it is true, are members of the Liverpool School Board, two of them are secretaries of the Diocesan Board of Education, one of them is joint secretary of the Liverpool Council of Education. But for how much does this count in the inspiring and shaping of the Primary, Secondary, and Higher Education of Liverpool?

I must not enter in this place into merely controversial questions, but I think I shall carry with me the judgment of all thoughtful citizens in my statement that the great need of Liverpool in this respect at the present time is the creation of a purely educational party, caring for Education first of all, and placing questions of the Voluntary or State management of the schools—important, no doubt,

as they are—in an absolutely subordinate position.

And, from the point of view of distinctly Church interests, I cannot but think that if one of the Cathedral Canonries were specially endowed, with the intention of placing in its stall a really able man, one who from wide experience and careful study could take a broad statesmanlike view of the whole subject of National Education, determined to protect jealously the English instinct and demand for a religious basis to all national training, and yet free from all the narrowing influences of Clericalism, not only would new life and vigour be imparted to the direction of all Church educational agencies in the Diocese, but a higher and a nobler tone given to the Church's relations, both with the State and Nonconformity. At the present moment there are at least two men in the provisional Chapter either of whom, if released somewhat from parochial cares, might well fill the position of the acknowledged Minister of Education for the Church in Liverpool.

IV.—Again, the Church in Liverpool needs leadership in matters of Christian Economics and Trade Ethics.

There is no more frequent complaint against the Church than that she has lost touch with the industrial classes. For example, in a recent number of *The Review of the Churches*, Mr. Ben Tillett, taking part in a Round Table Conference on the "Church and Labour Problems," says, "At the present moment there is no real definite effort being made by any of the Churches, of whatever creed or profession, in the direction of solving the labour problem." Mr. Tom Mann, at a Labour Meeting the other day, is reported to have said: "The Church has not done its duty in the past, nor is it doing it in the present, and it deserves to be chastised for its negligence. The professors of religion should denounce from the pulpit the evil of buying in the cheapest market." It is not very long ago that at a Conference held in the Chapter House of St. Paul's a prominent industrial leader said bluntly, "The clergy are honest and hard-working on their own lines.

But we want them to take a new line. We are in the presence of a social breakdown, and I say that as matters stand, for practical purposes to me and my duty in everyday life, the bulk of the clergy of all denominations are of the least possible use in the world to me and mine."

Now, there is, undoubtedly, a note of exaggeration in these statements. Yet, at the same time, I fear it must be acknowledged that there is truth at the back of them. At least there is this conviction firmly rooted in the minds of the industrial classes: That in the forefront of the mission of the Church of Christ is the duty of grappling with the great social problems of Pauperism and Luxury, of the Drink Traffic, of Labour and Capital, of Sweating, of the Housing of the Poor, of Social Purity, of Peace and War; and that in its power of bringing such questions prominently within the range of common religious teaching is to be found the true "note" of a standing or a falling Church.

Again, we want to deal judiciously with the ethics of all these problems. "We want," in

fact, as Mr. Gore says in his lately published book on the Mission of the Church, "a new casuistry, which will not be a statement of the minimum requirement, but an exposition of how Christians ought to act in the different departments of social life. . . . We want to organise on these matters all enlightened public opinion. . . . We want really trustworthy information as to what is wrong in current commercial practice, and as to the sort of typical acts and refusals in which genuine Christianity would show itself. . . . This new casuistry will need to be formulated by voluntary effort in the first place, and might afterwards be taken into consideration by the authorities in the Church" (p. 135).

Here at any rate is another field for the employment of a Cathedral Canon, whose duty shall be the promotion of the study of Christian Sociology, and of Commercial and Trade Casuistry. Now I am sure that the announcement of a Lenten course of Cathedral lectures—sermons on Christian Economics, in which such subjects as the following—Competition,

the law of life—Justice, the law of exchange—Love, the law of distribution—found a place, would soon go far to justify such an appointment. Nor would the work of the Canon be solely confined to doctrinal teaching. There is plenty of practical work ready to fall within the department of such a Cathedral functionary. Consider only the need there is in Liverpool for the inception of some such work as that which our townsman, Mr. Charles Booth, has so admirably done for London, and which has made his “Life and Labour in London” an indispensable text-book for every wise statesman and philanthropist; or think again of the development of the Church’s emigration work, which, under the auspices of the S.P.C.K., Mr. Bridger and his colleagues have so nobly carried out at St. Nicholas’ Vestry.

V.—Lastly, let me say a word on the place which the Cathedral ought to take as the shrine of the highest and noblest liturgical services in expression of the devotional life of the City.

Liturgical worship is a function of a Cathedral which is already, I think, pretty univer-

sally recognised. In our great Minsters we expect to find "the fixed solemnities" of the Church's stately ordered Ritual of the Seasons rendered with all the perfection which Art and Music and Poetry, born of adoration and rendered in the consecrated Place of Prayer can give, and which we know are so potent to touch the hearts and stir the wills of the people. I need not therefore enlarge on this duty.

But I would venture to suggest a further development in this direction of the liturgical function of a Cathedral, which would, I conceive, do something to revive that civic spirit and patriotism so remarkable in antiquity and so sadly decayed among ourselves.

Those of you who are accustomed to worship in this place will remember how often I have expressed from this pulpit my own personal feeling, that there are no more natural acts of public worship than those which consecrate our feelings of reverence and gratitude for the memory of departed saints and the lives of great men, and which recognise the moral discipline there is to be gained from the enthu-

siastic commemoration of great ideals. Not only do—

“Their phantoms arise before us,
Our loftier brothers but one in blood ;
At bed and table they lord it o’er us,
With looks of beauty and words of good,”

but surely in the solemn services of worship their lives and their example would not only give us motive and inspiration, but be in some sort a pledge of the consecration of similar gifts, however small, in ourselves. I have often wondered how, believing as we profess to do in the continuous present inspiration of the Holy Spirit of God in the living realization of the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, we can rest satisfied with the imperfect reflection of even the past history of our Church which the existing Calendar suggests. Would not the Church be acting wisely in claiming for purposes of public commemoration in her services a somewhat wider range of consecrated lives? I have always thought that there is much to be learnt in this direction from such a Calendar as that drawn up by Auguste Comte

as the basis of the so-called Religion of Humanity, in which are commemorated not only what we should call the strictly saintly ideals, but all the great names of the world's heroes, leaders of industry, as Gutenberg and Watt; poets, painters, and musicians, as Dante, Shakespeare, Raphael, and Mozart; statesmen, as William, Cromwell, and Frederick. Such acts of commemoration, expressing in modern form the idea of the old mediæval "obit," or "the general Mynde," when the names of good doers were read out in church to the people—such services of public thanksgiving as those which were inaugurated by Dean Stanley, and so happily continued under his successor, in Westminster Abbey, memorial services for such national heroes as Livingstone and Gordon, as Browning and Tennyson, would surely, if organised in our City Cathedral in memory of our own civic worthies, do much to create that sense of social communion, to foster the feeling of a historic past and attachment to local memories, and the delight in the names of the worthy dead, all of which may exert

so potent an influence on the morality of the living.

And then, too, would it not be fitting that more opportunity should be given for marking the solemnity of civic duty, and the high responsibilities of civic office, if some public appeal to the consecration of such duties and offices could be openly made in the central City Church, in great civic acts of worship? Some acknowledgment of the fitness of such functions we already see in the annual custom of the Mayor of Liverpool, on the Sunday after his appointment, to proceed in state to St. Peter's Church, to take part in an offertory service in aid of the funds of the oldest charitable institution of the town—the Bluecoat Hospital.

But we can all, I think, readily recognise how much of dignity and devotion might be added to this and similar public functions, and even to movements at present ruled for the most part outside such influences, if once brought into creative touch with the solemnising liturgical energies of a great Cathedral. Surely, if rightly regarded, there are deep

religious possibilities connected, for example, with the annual festivals of the great friendly societies, of the United Order of Oddfellows, or the Ancient Order of Druids, or of Foresters, with the yearly congresses of the Trade Unionists, or the Co-operators, or with such popular movements as those associated with the newly devised "Labour Day." And certainly not until the Church has learnt to recognise—what surely the memory of her own ancient organisation of the early Trade Guilds and Corporations should never have allowed her to forget—that this most real part of the lives of the people is after all of supreme religious value and rich in opportunity of spiritual discipline, will she succeed in her task, not of getting hold of the masses, but, better still, of compelling the masses to get hold of her.

Obviously there are many other departments of Church work for a Cathedral in a City like Liverpool—for the scope of a Cathedral as of any church in my opinion ought only to be limited by the life of the citizen—of which I have now no time to speak. But indeed there

is no need. You will have readily seen the direction of my thought. For, such as it is, this seems to me, the Church work and Church reform, which will best prepare for that future time, which, as Churchmen we all desire should be no distant one, when the Vision of a Cathedral in the City which we have been considering to-night, and of which I have ventured to take St. Nicholas at the Port, the Bishop of Souls, the Friend of Labour, the Leader of Thought, the Interpreter of Life, the Guardian of the Children, the Patron Saint of Sailors, the Night Watchman of the City, as the suggestive symbol, may be realised, and the foundations laid of that jewelled city of the captive's vision—

“ Toward which new hearts in individual growth
Must quicken, and increase to multitude
In new dynasties of the race of men,
Developed whence shall grow spontaneously
New churches, new economies, new laws
Admitting freedom, new societies
Excluding falsehood ”—

until at last “ He shall make all things new,”
and the Perfect City shall “descend out of

Heaven from God," in which "whatsoever worketh abomination or maketh a lie" shall disappear; in which there shall be no Temple, for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb shall be the Temple of it; in which there shall be no need for the sun or the moon, for "the glory of God shall lighten it," and "Righteousness go forth as brightness, and Salvation as a lamp that burneth."

Meanwhile, for you and me, perhaps, it is sufficient that we should be satisfied with the City at our own doors and the chance of serving *that* as good men and as good citizens, striving day by day, by justice, by simplicity of life, by love, by service, by comradeship, by hope, and mercy, and faith, and self-sacrifice, to raise the walls of Liverpool a little bit nearer Heaven before we go.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE
SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

“Give to everyone that asketh thee ; and of him that taketh away thy goods ask them not again. . . . Love your enemies and do them good, and lend, hoping for nothing again ; and ye shall be sons of the Most High.”—LUKE vi. 30, 35.

“Mr. B. Tillett was speaking in Victoria Park to an immense crowd of working men, many of them Socialists, and he began to tell his audience of the Man of Nazareth. He told them what the Man of Nazareth said when He was upon the earth ; he told them what the Man of Nazareth did when He was upon the earth ; he told them what he believed the Man of Nazareth would say and do now to working men and dock labourers if He were visibly in their midst. He waxed warm on the subject, he grew more and more earnest and eloquent as he told them of the righteousness, and sympathy, and unselfishness, and kindness, and love of the Man of Nazareth. At last one of the Socialists cried out, ‘Let us give three cheers for that Man of Nazareth. He is the best man of whom we have ever heard.’ And immediately thousands of hats and caps were uplifted, and thousands of voices joined in ringing cheers for the ‘Man of Nazareth.’”—*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT.

WHAT do you think of this as a motto for life—" *Live as well as you dare?* "

It is one of Sydney Smith's twelve recipes for low spirits. Live as well as you dare! What do you think of it? Has it too cynical a flavour? Put it then in this way.

How good a man dare you be? Dare you be a Christian, for example, in the nineteenth century? Dare you introduce the principles of the Sermon on the Mount into the management of your Liverpool business?

I do not know whether you have often read through Christ's Sermon with that object in view. In church, of course, you have often heard it read as a "Second Lesson." But that is quite a different thing, for I am very much

afraid that with a good many people the only thing they do take quite literally about the reading of it in church is the words, "*Here endeth the Second Lesson.*"

But now take Christ's words in this Sermon and put them, if you can, into direct touch with your everyday business life. To say the least, do you not think that the political economy of the Sermon on the Mount and the economics of to-day furnish a very striking contrast? For example, let me put some of the maxims of the Preacher on the Mount and the precepts of Political Economy side by side. How do they sound?

CHRIST SAYS—

Love your enemies.

Resist not evil.

Thou shalt love thy neighbour
as thyself.

Blessed are the peacemakers.

Blessed are the meek, for they
shall inherit the earth.

Give to him that asketh thee.

POLITICAL ECONOMY SAYS—

Undersell your friends.

Strike, lest ye be struck or
locked out.

Every man for himself, and the
Devil take the hindmost.

Laissez-faire, laissez-passer.

Property in land is for the
most part the result of
State grants for military
service.

Indiscriminate charity is a
frightful evil.

Lend, hoping for nothing again.	Interest is the legitimate remuneration of capital ; its rate varies with the value of the security.
Forgive men their debts.	Put the bailiffs in the house.
Lay not up treasure on earth.	Capital is the result of saving, and is a prime requisite of production.
Be merciful and give good measure, pressed down and running over.	It is impossible to interfere with the law of supply and demand.
I will give unto this last even as unto thee.	I will give unto this last the very least wage that the haggle of the market makes possible.
Ye cannot serve God and Mammon.	Buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest, and you may drive to church with an easy conscience and a carriage and pair.

And so on, and so on.

I need not, I am sure, draw out the contrast further. It must be evident to all of you that the possible arrangements into parallel columns is a long way from being exhausted. If you want to supplement the list you can easily do so from any of half-a-dozen works of semi-socialist fiction, such as the "History of Joshua Davidson," or from the more serious pages of

such a writer as the Russian philanthropist and social reformer, Count Tolstoi.

Now it appears to me that there are just four ways in which you may escape from the difficulty suggested by this strong sense of contrast between the Christian life of to-day and the teaching of Christ in the Sermon on the Mount.

- i. You may say, Christ was wrong, and it would therefore be a mistake to try to copy Him.
- ii. You may say, Christ was right, and we are making a mistake in not trying to copy Him.
- iii. You may say, Christ did not mean what He appeared to say, but that when you understand what He did mean, it is your duty to copy Him.
- iv. You may say, Christ did mean what He said, but that you can only truly copy Him, when you do not try to *copy* Him.

Let us take these four points, and consider them briefly.

It is possible of course to argue, as there are those who do argue, that Christ was wrong, and that circumstances proved Him to be so ; that being, humanly speaking, an Oriental, He misunderstood the possibilities of the social environment about Him, and in which His disciples would have to live ; that He knew nothing of Political Economy, nothing even of the economic history and experience of such a state as that of Babylon, where as we know now, from the brick records lately deciphered, many so-called modern economic phenomena were already well developed, as, for example, the 4 per cent. rate of interest of the banking loans of the house of Egibi * ; that living in a time and country when there was no pressure of population on the means of subsistence, when men had few wants, and the slavery of labour was unknown, and having been brought into contact, as some think, with Essenic teaching and cenobitic habit, He thought it possible to establish a new society—

* You will find some of them in the Mayer collection in the Liverpool Museum.

“the Kingdom of God on earth” He wished it to be called—a sort of social Utopia, in which the humble and the self-sacrificing, the frank and the simple, were to be the chief citizens, in which community of goods was to be the rule and covetousness the cardinal sin. But circumstances, it is argued, were against Him. His theory involved too lofty an ideal for human nature. The class of facts and laws upon which human society is founded, facts of human sentiment and hereditary prejudice, were not to be lightly set aside in an hour or a day. The economic structure of the little society soon broke down. There were no adequate checks against idleness and improvidence. The administrative difficulties connected with what was practically a gigantic system of pauper relief accumulated. Finally, the Christian society was saved at the expense of Christian principle. It became plain that Christ’s social ideal was inconsistent with the assured and tried principles of human nature, with that permanent groundwork of man’s constitution which is independent of historic evo-

lution, and on which indeed evolution itself depends.

But again there are those who say that Christ was right and that we are wrong: that we are Christians only to our own shame and to our Master's dishonour—" *Christiani ad contumeliam Christi* ": that whether it is possible or not to place society on a strict basis of Christian principle we cannot say, for that very few have ever really tried: that discussion as to the feasibility of a Christian socialistic state in which Christ's five great commandments—Be not angry—Do not commit adultery—Take no oaths—Resist not evil—Make no war—were obeyed, must for the present at least be merely conjectural and speculative, for very few have ever attempted to put them into practice: and that those who have, like St. Francis of Assisi, or Laurence Oliphant, or the Moravians, or the Poor Men of Lyons, or the American Shakers, have generally been laughed down by the rest of Christendom, as either foolish fanatics or mad: that notwithstanding this there are clear signs in our own day that the

prevailing system of Individualism, based as it is on the general theory that human interests are best promoted by each man attending to his own, is breaking down: that public opinion is beginning to see that the enormities of private selfishness must be controlled by a multitude of public enactments, is beginning to doubt whether after all unlimited competition is not tending to competitive anarchy, is beginning to realise that our modern industrialism while it creates wealth is fatal to man, and is therefore adverse to order, to security, to freedom, to true moral development: that it is obvious that the present industrial order, in concentrating, as it daily tends to do, the economic functions of the country into the hands of a comparatively few mammoth capitalists, is only making the ultimate displacement easier, and the assumption of final control for the common social good more complete: that in fact we are rapidly coming to the time when no longer the political economy of John Stuart Mill and Richard Cobden, but the economic ethics of John Ruskin in his "Unto this

Last," or of William Morris in his "News from Nowhere," is beginning to be discussed, when no longer the social philosophy of Jeremy Bentham or Herbert Spencer, but of Laurence Oliphant and General Gordon, and the author of "Looking Backward," is beginning to be considered, when no longer the philanthropical finance of the Charity Organisation Society but the humanitarian enthusiasms of Count Tolstoi, and General Booth and "Nunquam" is beginning to be debated, when, in a word, no longer the Christianity of the last eighteen centuries, but the religion of Christ, is going to be tried.

But again there are those who would be indignant with such an explanation of things. "No," they would say, "that is entirely to misunderstand the whole mission of Christ on earth. He did not come in any sense as a social reformer, much less as a politician. 'His kingdom was not of this world.' He came to disengage men's souls from 'the cares of this world.' He saw with perfect clearness that man's indifference to the only

true life, the life of the spirit, his want of philosophy and morality, came almost entirely from the distractions of society, the cares of the world, the deceitfulness of riches. He proposed therefore to detach man from all these things, to break off his friendship with the world, which in reality meant enmity with God. He pointed out to His disciples that to be wise or to be learned, or to be peaceful or to be happy, much more to be rich, was a snare and a peril to the true believer. Social reform therefore is no part of the Christian scheme. There is no political economy for to-day to be found in the Sermon on the Mount or in the Parables, or anywhere else in Christ's teaching. Such economic maxims as may seem to be there are entirely metaphorical and to be interpreted, of course, in a merely spiritual sense. The disciple of Christ is to renounce the world, to lay up no treasures on earth. Wealth is but a root of evil, elements of progress and civilisation are of no moment. Secular happiness is altogether of secondary concern. What the Christian has to do is to endeavour by patience and

perseverance, and humility and repentance, by faith in the Redeemer, and through the efficacy of the sacraments of the Church, to secure eternal happiness in Heaven. To copy Christ therefore in resisting not evil, in giving to him that asketh, in abstaining from food, in adopting humility and poverty and simplicity, is not in order that we may live a more perfectly social, altruistic, brotherly life here, but in order that we may prepare our souls for a life of spiritual blessedness hereafter."

But lastly, it is possible to say—and this is the solution of the difficulty which commends itself to my own mind as the most reasonable—the Sermon on the Mount is the unalterable standard, not of the Christian practice, but of the Christian spirit. As long as Christianity lasts the heroic ideal as set forth in this Sermon must be the standard of all human life. But the Christian spirit is a free spirit. "The Sermon on the Mount"—if I may be allowed to quote what I have elsewhere published*—"is not to be regarded as some

* "Christ and Democracy," University Sermons, p. 33.

civil statute, where in section, sub-section, and schedule, you may expect to find all ethical difficulties codified and ticketed with their appropriate fines and punishments. Jesus Christ did not come, as some people seem to suppose, to give to man a new system of morality, whose maxims and precepts should be sufficient to solve the difficulties of ethical action for all time. He did not come to teach man how to be good, how to distinguish right from wrong in any new way. What He did come to give men was *a new motive* to be good, to do right, to avoid wrong in the old way. The abstract principles which Christ inculcated remain still intact; but the concrete shape into which He was obliged to throw those principles has changed with changed conditions. It would be only a stupid literalism which would mistake the outward form for the essential spirit. What you have to do, in the first place, is not to go to the New Testament as to a code of maxims and dicta, but as to a well-spring of spiritual influence; not to insist on taking the doctrines of Christ *au pied de la lettre*, but to

imbue yourselves 'with the same mind that was in Christ,' and let your behaviour afterwards flow freely from it. Doubts infinite there are and have been, and ever will be probably, among Christians, as to the doctrine of Christ, and as to the particulars of what He said and did ; but no one ever I think really doubted much as to the tone and temper of His mind, as to the essential features of His character, as to the inherent spirit of His religion. Let us then fill ourselves with that spirit, as enduring and surviving, ever extant, through all forms and all times, and then we may safely ignore the letter as simply an accidental and temporary garment in which He clothes His meaning.

“And in the second place you have to recognise, that although the rule and standard of right and wrong for the Christian must always be the will of God ; you must remember that the positive and authentic revelation of the divine will is not confined only to the pages of the New Testament. The witness of the facts of daily life, of social order, with its ele-

mentary laws, its necessary incidents and pursuits, if only we can get it genuine, is also the revelation of God. One step towards greater perfection suggests another.

‘New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth,
They must upward still and onward,
Who would keep abreast of Truth.’

To the Christian who believes that none of the conditions of human life come by chance, but are divinely ordered, the question of any line of conduct—How does it work?—is one which he need not be ashamed to ask with confidence, knowing that the verdict of experience necessarily brings with it the sanction of the Divine Ruler. The will of God, the Word of God, is not all revealed. God speaks to man still in nature and in human society, as well as in Christ and the sacred writers.”

It is in this spirit, at anyrate, that I am proposing to consider, in future sermons of this course, various aspects of economic morals.

To-day let me add only this one thought to what I have already said.

My friends, if I am intending to ask you, in these sermons, to find in the recorded words of Jesus Christ, in the Sermon on the Mount, rightly interpreted, the heroic *standard* for the economic life of the nineteenth century, for the practical duties and difficulties and cares and crises of your every-day business life in Liverpool, believe me, it is only because, in that same record, I feel I can ask you to find the heroic *sanction* for the faith, which on this Trinity Sunday our Church specially asks us to remember, that Jesus Christ as the King and Consummator of society, in proclaiming a Fatherly Will as the origin of all life and the root of humanity, reveals to us the brotherly relationship as the true order of society, and also for the faith that in the gradual evolution of that order His holy spirit of fellowship will be ever the acting organ of civilisation. Loyalty, personal, passionate, to Christ as King, as the centre and consummator of society, as the Life, which having once inter-

vened in history, is ever appropriating and hallowing all that comes within the range of its outflow—whether art or poetry or science, whether politics or economics or ethics, whether industry or wealth, this is the faith, with which, by the grace of His Spirit, I pray God I may be enabled in some degree to inspire you.

Some time ago, when I was in Florence, I saw above the gateway of the Palace of the Signoria, or City Hall, the monogram of Christ. It was carved in the stone tablet where once had been placed the words—"Jesus Christ elected by the decree of the Senate King of the Florentine People." On the battlements of the tower of the same old palace I was still able to read the Latin inscription, placed there three centuries ago by the mayor of the city, Niccolo Capprivi, to record the same fact, telling how, in the City Council, and afterwards in the public assembly of the citizens in the great square below, the Florentines had solemnly elected Jesus Christ as the King of their city, the pledge that henceforth they

would be loyal to Him and to Him alone as King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

“ Jesus

Christus Rex Gloriæ venit in pace,

Christus vincit : Christus regnat :

Christus imperat :

Christus ab omni malo nos defendat.” *

My friends, I would to God that not only, not at all indeed on the stone walls of the Town Hall of our city, but on the fleshly tablets of the hearts of her citizens, Liverpool would inscribe such words as those of the Florentines of old, as a pledge of our loyalty to the same Christ as King of the City. Lift up your heads, O ye gates of the future time, and be ye lift up ye everlasting doors of our City's opportunity, and the King of Glory shall come in. Who is the King of Glory? It is the Lord, strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in many a battle of the past against slavery and superstition and ignorance and sin, to be no less mighty, if only you and I be

* Jesus Christ, the King of Glory, comes in peace, He conquers, He reigns, He rules ; may He protect us from all evil.

trusty soldiers, in future victories against our City foes—indifference, intolerance, bigotry, drunkenness, impurity, class-selfishness, money-greed, idleness, and luxury. God grant we fail Him not to whom we daily pray—"Thy kingdom come!"

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM—DIVES
AND PAUPER.

“Blessed are ye poor ! . . . Woe unto you that are rich !”

LUKE vi. 20, 24.

“Whatever be the form in which they are destined to be shaped, the work which the Christian societies, as societies, have to do in the days that are to come, is not inferior to any work which has lain before them at any epoch of their history. For the air is charged with thunder, and the times that are coming may be times of storm. There are phenomena beneath the surface of society of which it would be hardly possible to overrate the significance. There is a widening separation of class from class : there is a growing social strain : there is a disturbance of the political equilibrium : there is the rise of an educated proletariat. To the problems which these phenomena suggest Christianity has the key.”—DR. HATCH.
Bampton Lectures.’

THE SOCIAL PROBLEM—DIVES AND PAUPER.

“**B**LESSED are ye poor ! . . . Woe unto
you that are rich !”

Is this saying of Christ, do you think, to be taken as the last word on the money and morals question, on what Lord Beaconsfield once called “the condition of the people of England question” ? I think you will be right if you answer emphatically, “No !”

Did Christ even mean it as His last word on “the condition of the people of Israel question” in His own day ? Again I think you will be right if you answer, “No !”

I have already spoken about the method of Christ’s teaching ; I have already indicated how the Sermon on the Mount is not to be taken as the direct measure of the Christian

practice, but as the unalterable standard of the Christian spirit ; how always Christ, whose purpose was yet entirely practical, sought to force men to live, not by maxim and precept, but by principle ; how evidently, in any difficulty, He would wish the appeal to be made, not to any code of statute law, whether compiled by Himself or remodelled under His authority from time to time by His Church, enunciating precise commands, "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not," but to the law-making power inherent, according to His promise, in every true member of His Church, by which such member would be led in any difficulty to feel the irresistible compulsion of his conscience, saying, "I ought" and "I ought not."

And if you remember this purpose of Jesus I think you will the more readily understand also the meaning of many of His parables, and especially of His paradoxical sayings—those "cross-clauses," as Lord Bacon once aptly termed them, "of the League of Christians." For the method of paradox, like the method

of irony, is a very potent weapon of the spiritual teacher. It arrests attention, in the first place, and that for the preacher is always half a victory. It forces men into perhaps a momentary attitude of opposition to their own received opinions, during which they may often be led to question the righteousness of some hackneyed precept, to see some familiar truth under a new aspect, to grasp some new principle, to doubt some old prejudice, to recognise with a start of horror the foulness of some cherished sin, to welcome with a smile of surprise the unexpected charm of some imagined foe.

No, it was no contradiction to "the sweet reasonableness" of Christ's habitual tone and temper of mind that He should on occasion adopt in His teaching the method of paradox. "Blessed are ye poor! Woe unto you that are rich!" are sentences that have their justification. Force yourselves to think, get down to the bases of morality, and you will begin to see that there is such a thing as the blessedness of poverty, the misery of wealth. Is it

wonderful that Jesus Christ, "living among the poor, cognisant of their 'sacred patience' and their humble virtues profoundly impressed with the terrible influence which the abundance and the love of earthly possessions exercise in enervating the soul, incapacitating it for all high enterprise, all self-denying effort, all difficult achievement; seeing with a clearness which excluded, for the moment, all modifying considerations, the benumbing power of that fatal torpor and apathy which creep over even nobler natures when this life is too luxurious and too joyful knowing how the luxury and the lavish expenditure of the rich man make life difficult for all about him, how his ostentation is an evil and a temptation to those who take him for their model,"—knowing all this, is it wonderful, I say, that Jesus Christ should be bent on startling the world of His day out of the self-indulgent complacency into which it had sunk?

"There was a certain rich man, which was clothed in purple and fine linen and fared sumptuously every day: and there was a

certain beggar named Lazarus, which was laid at his gate full of sores, and desiring to be fed with the crumbs which fell from the rich man's table: yea, even the dogs came and licked his sores. And it came to pass that the beggar died and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom: and the rich man also died and was buried, and in hell he lifted up his eyes, being in torment."

We all know this story very well indeed, this two-act drama of human life in half-a-dozen sentences. It is very vivid. It is very powerful. It is very true to human nature. We may all learn from it several very useful lessons. But we shall miss, I think, the chief lesson which Christ intended to teach us if we try to read into the parable, as so many people seem tempted to do, the notion that somehow Dives was a very bad man, and that Lazarus was a very good one. That would be, I think, to miss Christ's chief point. For what He wished to bring home to our consciences by this immortal picture was surely just this—that the state of society which makes such pitiful con-

trasts between wealth and poverty possible is a wrong state of society, and one so wrong that, if we do not realise the pitifulness of it, we place ourselves at once among the circle of those "who would not be persuaded though one rose from the dead."

And yet how difficult it is to get men really to see the pitifulness of it all, really to understand all that is implied in the social problems of our day. Why, my friends, when, in the light of Christ's incarnation, we bring ourselves face to face with such problems, what "a sorry compromise, what a miserable evasion, what a vast conspiracy to be blind," does even the best side of our Christian civilisation seem!

Think of it! God has provided this England of ours with boundless wealth, with innumerable means for its production. "He has given us all things richly to enjoy!"

According to Mr. Giffen, the eminent statistician, the total yearly income of the United Kingdom had reached in 1886 the enormous amount of 1,207 million pounds sterling. The amount of wealth assessed for income tax has

much more than doubled in thirty years. And yet the existence of this fabulous wealth in the country is consistent with the most abject poverty. All the wisest and most serious voices are telling us that the present condition of things, the startling and glaring contrast of colossal wealth and ostentatious luxury in the midst of masses of human beings on the borderland of starvation—the 1,200 millions of pounds on the one hand, the 761,000 paupers on the other—constitutes the gravest danger both to the individual and the State. You will allow me to repeat the testimony of some of those voices.

An English prelate, who is not certainly given to exaggeration, the Bishop of Winchester, has said, "The zones of enormous wealth and degrading poverty, unless carefully considered, will presently generate a tornado, which, when the storm clears, may leave a good deal of wreckage behind."

An American prelate, Cardinal Gibbons, warns us of a struggle, how imminent none can tell, "the signs of which fill us with dis-

quietude, because the thirst for wealth becomes daily more insatiable, and the cries of the distressed more poignant and violent."

An English Positivist, Mr. Frederic Harrison, writes that "a society in which generation after generation passes away, consolidating vast and ever-increasing hoards of wealth, a society in which capital has created for itself a gospel of its own, and claimed for the good of society the divine right of selfishness, such a society the workmen will not for ever tolerate."

An American poet, Mr. Russell Lowell, has said: "Formerly the immense majority of men—our brothers—knew only their sufferings, their wants and their desires. They are beginning to know their opportunity and their power. All persons who see deeper than their plates are rather inclined to thank God for it than to bewail it, for the sores of Lazarus have a poison in them against which Dives has no antidote."

"Lazarus," says an eminent Wesleyan, "is no longer lying on the footsteps of Dives, in the quiescence of sullen despair, but vehemently

gesticulating to the hungry men at the corners of the street.”

“The working classes,” says Bishop Barry, “are now demanding that Christianity shall be tried by the test of its social effectiveness, its power to serve the welfare, physical, intellectual and moral of the great mass of men.”

“The generation which is about to take our place,” says Bishop Alexander, of Derry, “will certainly judge the Church by her works. Is not a new impulse working in countless hearts and drawing together the democracies of the world with voices too often deepening in anger, but with new feelings and passionate conviction before which old political and polemical discussions go down? I see them rising to their feet the greatest host that time has ever known, and hear the murmur of millions speaking to millions across the sea in many languages. What there is in the Gospel to rectify the relations of human life, to elevate the selfishness of capital and chasten the selfishness of labour, to carry to homes improvement in the present and hope for the future—that will find

eager listeners. But to the men of the near future religion will appear a barren and worthless stem, unless it be taught to clothe itself with the blossoms of worship, and to bear the fruits of human love."

My friends, I need not multiply these voices. I do not think you will wish to repudiate either the wisdom or the truth of their testimony. You will rather, I think, be inclined to say to me—"Yes, this is all very true, but what is there to be done? How can we individually effect in any way a change for the better in the social or the industrial system? How can we bring about what might seem to be a fairer distribution of wealth? How can we mitigate the apparent tyranny of capital? How can we abolish the unfair monopoly of profit? What good can we do by setting our faces against political economy, which seems to tell us that there are some men for whom nature has placed no plate at the banquet of life, but only commands them to go away, for they are redundant on the earth? Shall we not run the least risk of doing harm if we simply leave things alone,

let society work out its own salvation according to its own inscrutable laws, and, for ourselves, just 'do the duty that lies nearest to us'?"

Well, do your own duty by all means ; there never can be any doubt about the righteousness of that. But there are some things, I think, you may also do in the way of helping on practicable social reforms. And of those I hope to have an opportunity of speaking to you at more length before I have finished this course of sermons.

But, to-day, before I close I want to tell you of one thing that you must *not* do.

You must not lose faith that there *is* an order of society which is the best, and that towards this order the world is gradually moving, according to a definite divine plan: in other words, you must not lose faith in God's good government of the world, or in the reality of the hope which Christ gave to us when he taught us to pray daily, "Thy will be done, Thy kingdom come . . . on earth."

And, believe me, in saying this, I am not just using a convention of the pulpit. The

danger of losing this faith, the danger of social agnosticism, is a very real danger.

For there are those, men too of light and leading, who openly scout any necessity for such a faith. I have been reading the address on "Progress" which was given to the students of Glasgow University by their Lord Rector, Mr. Balfour. In that address Mr. Balfour quite deliberately, I sincerely trust not cynically, sets himself, as it appears to me at least, to chill all social enthusiasm, to check all venturous enterprise, to weaken all the springs of social endeavour, to kill all the best motives to chivalrous living on the part of his youthful hearers, by administering an icy cold douche of critical analysis tending to show that faith in any path of social progress is after all but a beneficial illusion.

"The future of the race," he says, "is encumbered with darkness; no faculty of calculation that we possess, no instrument that we are likely to invent will enable us to map out its course, or penetrate the secret of its destiny. It is easy to find in the clouds which obscure

our path what shapes we please, to see in them the promise of some millennial paradise, or the threat of endless and unmeaning travel through waste and perilous places There is nothing of what we know of the earthly prospects of humanity fitted fully to satisfy human aspirations. It is true that, as I think, much optimistic speculation about the future is quite unworthy the consideration of serious men. . . . The best efforts of mankind have never been founded upon the belief in an assured progress towards a terrestrial millennium."

It is only fair to say that Mr. Balfour is by no means alone in his social scepticism, in his belief in the doctrine of social nescience. A not very dissimilar attitude was lately taken up by a friend of my own, a religious thinker of great acuteness of mind, lucidity of expression, and charm of style, in a paper which I had the opportunity of hearing. Its subject was "The Limits of Man's Power to Solve Social Problems." In his paper my friend endeavours to show, both from the nature of the case, and by an appeal to history, that the power of

society to determine its own welfare is extremely limited, even under the most favourable circumstances, that the most important effects of any social or political reform are always the unforeseen and undesigned effects, that history is, in fact, the record of the unexpected. "Let social science," he said, "do her best, let philosophers become not only kings, as Plato desired, but members of Parliament, and even then the community will be in no position to decree its own welfare or prevent its own harm. Every social reform that man undertakes is a desperate adventure: it creates more problems than it solves. In fact, a social reformer may be defined as a man who creates the problems of the future by endeavouring to solve the problems of the present."

My friends, I do not know what your answer to all this would be. My answer is this—

Mr. Balfour may be right. My friend may be right. But if they are, then it is not only you and I who are wrong, but it is Christianity which is wrong, it is Christ who is wrong.

For I tell you it is of the essence of Christianity to believe in a social millennium. Progress is at the very heart of Christ's doctrine. Progress is not only a vital fact in the history of the Kingdom of Christ, it is its vital law. "Be ye perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect"—is not the deceptive pleasantry of a good-natured cynic; it is the word of Christ. A week ago, you will remember, at the conclusion of my sermon I reminded you of the doctrine of the Kingdom of Christ, as the centre and consummator of society. I pointed out to you how Christ is revealed to us not only as the Prophet and Priest, the Friend, the Consoler, the Redeemer, but as the King, as one who claims authority over the spirits of men: and I asked you to find in the sense of loyalty, personal, passionate, to that King, a new motive for conduct.

To-day I venture to remind you of another doctrine of our faith, and I ask you, in the face of all social sceptics, to find in that doctrine a safe ground for social hope, a rational basis for faith in social progress. I ask you to remember

that Christianity is not only a religion of personal salvation, but a religion of social salvation, because it is the religion of the Incarnation, the religion of the Word made flesh. And I ask you to remember what that implies; that arguments drawn from a doctrine of social agnosticism lose absolutely all their force when, as Christians, we recite our faith in Christ, who, as the Eternal Word of God, has always been, and is still, the acting organ of creation and providence, ever operating in the region behind phenomena, the originating cause of all energy, all life, all thought; when we remember also that "in becoming incarnate He did not desert the rest of His creation," but was the quickening impulse of all that is best in what we call modern civilisation, the nourisher of new graces in the ever-widening circles of the family, the society, the State, the inspirer of art, and literature, and morals, and government, by lifting them all into a higher atmosphere of hopefulness than was ever possible in the ancient world before His coming; when, finally, as Christians, we dare even to

claim, as we have a perfect right to do, that the best side of modern science, its doctrine of evolution, rightly understood, is but the co-relative of the dogma of the Incarnation, and adds immeasurably to the value of human life, to the glory of man's destiny, because it shows how, after all, the grand sweep of things is from the lower to the higher, the vast amount of suffering, and struggle, and competition on the whole doing the work of raising nature, material and human, into a higher condition, making us feel that so widespread is the confederacy of the powers of good that no failure, and no series of failures, can ever leave uncertain the final supremacy of Christ over all created life.

And that I may not close without one practical word, I ask you to remember the lesson which Tennyson has drawn for us in immortal verse from that doctrine.

“The solid earth whereon we tread

In tracts of fluent heat began,

And grew to seeming-random forms,

The seeming prey of cyclic storms,

Till at the last arose the man ;

Who throve and branch'd from clime to clime
The herald of a higher race,
And of himself in higher place,
If so he type this work of time

Within himself, from more to more ;
Or, crown'd with attributes of woe
Like glories, move his course, and show
That life is not as idle ore,

But iron dug from central gloom,
And heated hot with burning fears,
And dipt in baths of hissing tears,
And batter'd with the shocks of doom

To shape and use. Arise and fly
The reeling Faun, the sensual feast ;
Move upward, working out the beast,
And let the ape and tiger die."

Ah, yes, friends—move upward ! Move upward, working out the beast—working out your own salvation, it is all the same thing. But are you working, are you moving in that direction at all ? What progress in that development of character did you make last week ? Are you more pitiful, more tender, more compassionate than you were last Sunday ? Is there any less of the ape or the tiger in you, and more of the "*Christ in you*" ? Have you

cast off any of the traits of the brute inheritance, the surly temper, the apish self-conceit, the low debauchery, the mean trickery, the aggressive self-assertion, the careless cruelty, the quarrelsome impulse, the cynical sneer?

To what moral strength of character did you move upwards last week in the consciousness that in spite of shame and some little social distress, you stood up for Christ's cause, the cause of truth and justice, and "dared to be in the right with two or three"? In what small respect even have you endeavoured to modify the public opinion around you, and to spread the new spirit of Christ-like love and enthusiasm for goodness, which shall one day create a new social world made harmonious and happy in the all-conquering spirit of comradeship and brotherhood. In the by-paths of our crowded city life, and amid the common haunts of man, in the workshop, in the counting-house, on 'Change, have you by any Christ-like deed or word proved yourself a true follower of the Crucified; have you done anything to forward that Kingdom of Heaven on

earth from which every vestige of conflict and strife shall one day be utterly and for ever swept away, and the goal of social evolution be reached, when Christ shall reign, King of Kings and Lord of Lords?

PRIVATE PROPERTY AND COMMON
WEALTH.

“And when they drew nigh unto Jerusalem, unto Bethphage and Bethany at the Mount of Olives, Jesus sendeth two of His disciples, and saith unto them, Go your way into the village that is over against you, and straightway as ye enter into it, ye shall find a colt tied, whereon no man has ever yet sat ; loose him and bring him. And if anyone say unto you, Why do ye this ? say ye, The Lord hath need of him ; and straightway he will send him back hither. And they went and found a colt tied at the door without in the open street, and they loose him. And certain of them that stood there said, What do ye, loosing the colt ? And they said unto them even as Jesus had said : and they let them go.”—ST. MARK xi. 3.

“The institutions of society and the motives of men which determine the facts summarily described as ‘economic laws,’ are liable to alteration. Forms of inheritance, of land-tenure, of cultivation, of industrial processes and remuneration, influence the distribution of wealth. These have been changed in the past and are still liable to change. On the other hand men are stirred to energetic action by other impulses than the hope of gain. And these may be called hereafter into wider play. The power of love, the power of the Incarnation has hitherto hardly been invoked as the sovereign principle of Christian action.”—BISHOP WESTCOTT.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AND COMMON WEALTH.

THIS incident of Gospel story is emblematic of the whole social influence of Christ as the great Emancipator of the world.

“Why loose ye the colt?” “The Lord hath need of him.”

Here is a question and an answer. A question, expressing an outraged sense of private property. An answer, revealing the true ground upon which all property rests, the ultimate social good, the common well-being or wealth of the community. Private Property and Common Wealth in the light of the teaching of Christ; this at anyrate is my subject to-day.

I suppose there never was a time in the social history of our country when the rights

of property were regarded with more reverence than they are to-day in England. "The sacredness of property" is indeed the commonest of phrases. One of the main foundation stones of the building of the State, we shall be told, is the institution of private property, and one of the chief ends of all government is its protection. And this opinion has of course the sanction of history. For although in the earliest stage on which the light of history falls, if we are to trust the best authorities, there was no such thing as private property, but only collective ownership, yet of this there can be no doubt, that under all civilisations, after a certain stage of social development, all human societies seem to come inevitably to the institution of private property, nearly always to private property in land, invariably to private property in movable things. So it has been with all the great families of mankind—the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians, the Hindoos, the Chinese, the Germans, the Celts, the Slavs.

The command, "Thou shalt not steal, thou

shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, nor anything that is his," is a sufficient proof that even in the time of Moses the Jews had reached the institution of private property in movable goods.

The injunction, "Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark," is a sufficient proof that at least in the time of the Deuteronomist they had reached the institution of private property in land. And so it was also with the other nations of antiquity. The Roman law of the Twelve Tables is even more severe in its penalties against theft and robbery than the Mosaic code itself. The juristic precepts of ancient Greece, of Lycurgus for Sparta, of Pericles for Athens, the customary law of the Aryan races, both East and West, the Brahminical code of India, the Edicts of Confucius in China, of Rameses the Great in Egypt, the rule of the All-mends of the Teutonic races of northern Europe, and of the Village Communities of the southern Slavs, the Brehon laws of the early Irish, all bear the same testimony. Twice over indeed, in history, once under the

ancient civilisations, and again under modern civilisation, the same phenomenon has repeated itself. Everywhere at a certain stage in the history of nations, and under every variety of physical surroundings, as if indeed it were some necessity of human nature, some scientific law of social evolution, does private property come to be recognised, and the right of the individual to say, "This is mine and not yours," comes to be acknowledged, and to receive the sanction of law.

Why this has been so, and what are the causes which have led to this universal, and, as it would appear, inevitable result, though it is a result which, conceivably at least, might have been different—witness the imaginative Utopias of our Socialist friends, from Plato down to William Morris—would no doubt be a very interesting, and I think instructive inquiry, but it is one for which I have no time to-day, even if this were quite the place. I must be satisfied with the bare statement of the historic fact that it is a law of men, in social union, that they must come to private property at a

certain stage ; and I pass to the consideration of some of the practical consequences of this law, both good and evil.

It was a saying of that scornful prophet, Thomas Carlyle, that "the Englishman's hell is want of money—failure to acquire property." He seemed to think that this hell was a very paltry and trifling one. I cannot think he was right. The hell in question—if only the poverty or the lack of money is sufficiently absolute—seems to me a very serious and a very real one. It is an Inferno, too, in which there are many circles, whose inmates vary from the failures and bankrupts of fortune, enduring the scorching fires of shame and degradation, to the luckless lack-alls, exposed to the squalid sorrows and miseries of a servitude to which, only because they have become inured to it, they seem to have become insensible. We hardly any of us, I suppose, need to read such books as General Booth's "Darkest England," or the still more terrible, because more responsible, book of our fellow-townsmen, Charles Booth, "The Life and Labour of the People,"

to discover what depths of unutterable misery are implied in the statement that at the present moment, in this richest of the countries of the earth, one in every ten of God's Englishmen is doomed to the service of our great modern Eumenides, the dire sister Furies of Drudgery, Destitution, and Despair.

My friends, when we think of these things, and when we remember what a host of fears and terrors drop off and fade away for the happy man who steps into the possession of even a "modest competence"; what a dismal host of threatening phantoms, potent to sap strength from life, and to spoil all our little happiness, dissolves away for the man who has what with deep insight we call "an independence"; what freedom from anxiety there is in the breast of the man who has "private means," a store of treasure laid up and guarded by law in a well-ordered and stable State; when we remember these things, I say, is it wonderful that to most of us accumulated property should seem the first and almost the sole thing worthy of a sane man's pursuit in

this world? When we consider the inverted system under which we live, and the sway of emotions engendered by it, is it wonderful that Iago's advice, "Put money in thy purse," should appear to be no mere cynical counsel of the Mammon worshipper, but the practical wisdom of the man of the world, who has terrible logic on his side, as he warns us, "You cannot be an independent man, you can hardly be an honest one, unless you have either secured or saved money, or got for life into some safe money-yielding groove." And yet, my friends, if this theory be true—if money, heaped up property be the one thing, the chief thing to struggle for—what are we to make of the teaching of Christ? "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon. . . . A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth. . . . It is easier for a camel to go through a needle's eye, than for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of God. . . . Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth."

How shall we escape from the contradiction?

On the one hand history tells us that man is urged by irresistible forces to individual appropriation of goods, that the conception of property is engrafted in his very nature, that he is impelled to its accumulation by dire necessity, allured to it by the most seductive promises, forced to it by the most formidable threats and penalties. And on the other hand, Christ says to us—"You worship Mammon at the peril of your soul." The pursuit of wealth means the loss of the real good of life, for it will kill all that is heroic and divine in life, all that has ever made the doings of man on this earth either good or great.

There is I think but one solution of the problem. We shall have to change our conception of Life; we shall have to change our conception of Property.

We need to get a totally new conception of the meaning of Life, first as to its motive, then as to its objects. In other words, we need to realise the absolute truth of those two sayings of Christ: (i.) "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these

things shall be added unto you," and (ii.) "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth."

First, as to the motive of life, its moving spring. *That* Christ says must be religion. "Seek ye *first* the Kingdom of God." Apply this to the subject before us, and we reach I think this position: That no re-arrangement of society, no social transformation is possible, has ever been possible, or ever will be, except as the application of a religious principle—of a moral development—of a strong and active common faith. What I mean is this. I do not think people who talk of the necessity, or of the possibility, of changes in our social system sufficiently realise that no change of institutions is ever worth anything which is not—the result of change of character. Men may easily re-make institutions, but they do not so easily re-make themselves. The law of social forms, of national institutions, is in fact this, that they shall be expressive of national character; they come into existence bearing its impress, and they live only so long as it supplies

them with vitality. To change institutions for the better, therefore, we need to change men for the better. And to do this we need and shall ever need religious motive. We might be all safely Socialists to-morrow, if we were only really Christians to-day. Yes, the great Italian prophet Mazzini was right when he said—"The first real earnest religious faith that shall arise, upon the ruins of the old worn-out creeds, will transform the whole of our actual social organization, because every strong and earnest faith tends to apply itself to every branch of human activity; because in every epoch of its existence the earth has ever tended to conform itself to the Heaven in which it then believed; and because the whole history of humanity is but the repetition—in form and degree varying according to the diversity of the times—of the words of the Dominical Christian Prayer: 'Thy Kingdom come on earth as it is in Heaven.'"

Again, we need also a new conception of the objects of life and its possibilities. "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the

things which he possesseth." Does not Christ in these words remind us that we all need *a moral revaluation of the things of life*, a new appraisalment of the things which are best worth pursuing? Is it not possible, do you think, to bring about such a moral enlargement of "the field of investment," in immaterial things, in non-monopolies, as shall really enrich mankind at the cost of none? Yes; there are great simple pleasures in life which many of us pass by and do not even recognise as pleasures, precious things to be had cheap, gifts that cannot be monopolised, cannot be made into property, cannot even be got by those who think only of money and the pleasures that money can buy. Ah, yes; benignant Mother Nature has her secret compensations which, in spite of social disabilities, she gives to those who have not gone too far from her ways—the joys of earth, the love of natural beauty, of knowledge, of the enthusiasm of humanity, the luxury of social service, the craftsman's joy in his work, which is only another name for the pleasures of Art, the

fervour of hope in a good time coming, the poetry of the Ideal, ay, and such common place joys in the present as good health, good digestion, good temper, a quiet mind, an honest heart, a spirit of comradeship. These, my friends, though they may fetch no money price in the market, are very real things, are indeed Common Wealth, and they are the things that Christ cared for.

Lastly, we need a new conception of property, its rights and duties.

I have left myself no time to-day to speak at all fully or adequately on this head. I must be satisfied with merely stating baldly these five propositions, which I think may be logically deduced from Christ's doctrine of property, which briefly I take to be this—that of worldly possessions, as of all worldly gifts, the Christian is the steward of God, holding his wealth in trust for the common well-being.

My propositions are these :

(1.) That the true social order, according to the laws of the Kingdom of Heaven, as re-

vealed in the teaching of Christ, should have for its basis not the accumulation of wealth through self-interest and competition, but human progress and well-being, through self-sacrifice and association.

(2.) That society exists not for the sake of private property, but private property for the sake of society.

(3.) That the right use of property must be insisted upon as a religious duty ; that as capital arises from common labour, so in justice it should be made to minister to common wants.

(4.) That wealth does not release the rich man from his obligation to work, but only enables him to do unpaid work for society ; the only difference indeed, according to Christian ethics, between the rich man and the poor man, seeming to be this—that the poor man receives his wages at the end of the week, and does not get them unless his work is first done, whereas the wealthy man receives his wages first, and is bound as a matter of honour to earn them afterwards.

(5.) Finally, it is not the equalisation of property that is needed, but its moralisation.

I hope later to illustrate several of these propositions. Let me now close by emphasizing that last proposition. "It is not the equalisation of property that is needed, but its moralisation." A great German writer once happily defined the difference between Socialism and Christianity in these words—"Socialism says, 'What is thine is mine'; Christianity says, 'What is mine is thine'; the difference is infinite." The epigram is a clever one, but it is not quite complete. There is a beautiful and profound parable of the Persian poet, Jelâl-ed-Dîn Rûmî, which contains perhaps a deeper lesson. It tells us that "One knocked at the Beloved's door, and a voice asked from within, 'Who is there?' and he answered, 'It is I.' Then the voice said, 'This house will not hold me and thee'; and the door was not opened. Then went the lover into the desert, and fasted and prayed in solitude, and after a year he returned, and knocked again at the door: and again the

voice asked, 'Who is there?' and he said, 'It is thyself'; and the door was opened to him."

But this is poetry, you will say, pure idealism; and we are living in an all too practical world. I know it. But I am one of those who think that the Real will never find an irremovable basis till it rests on the Ideal. To seek the Kingdom of God in the kingdom of England must of necessity be an ideal quest. But it is part surely of our Christian faith to be ready to set our sails for Utopia. There is much, moreover, in the social aspects of the time that would lead us to think that the tide suits and the winds are favourable. Unless Christ has deceived us, we must surely be approaching nearer, day by day, to the Land of Social Righteousness. In the House of Perfect Peace we know that Love dwells. But the universal reign of peace will not be yet. For a time still must outcast Justice wander in the wilderness of humanity, until the lesson of self-sacrifice is fully learnt, until social hatred and anger have been wholly purged away, as

they have already been in part; until greedy self-love dying within us shall be wholly dead; until the grasping egoism shall have dwindled away, as we discover that what is got from others does not always make richer, and that what is given to others does not always make poorer. Then at last shall the wanderer return, and to the voice of Love asking at the door "Who is there?" Justice shall answer "It is thyself," and the door shall be opened and the reign of God begin on earth, and Mercy and Truth shall dwell together, because Justice and Love have kissed each other.

WHAT IS CULPABLE LUXURY?

“To what purpose is this waste?”—MATT. xxvi. 10.

“Only a generation growing up upon the sound basis of the fear of God and simplicity of morals can possess sufficient resisting power to overcome the dangers which in a time of rapid economical movement arise for the entire community through the examples of the highly luxurious life of individuals. It is my will that no opportunity be lost in the public service to offer every opposition to the temptation to disproportionate expenditure.”—THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY (FREDERICK III.).

WHAT IS CULPABLE LUXURY?

AND "waste" it undoubtedly was from the point of view of the "economic man." You probably all remember the context. It was an incident of the last days of our Lord's life on earth. On the Friday before the great Passover feast Christ had reached Jerusalem. The journey from Galilee had been for the disciples one of mingled anticipations of fear and hope. At each step of the sad pilgrimage the Kingdom of God became nearer or more remote in the mirage of their dreams. At one moment they were expecting to see "the sign of the Son of Man" appear in the clouds. The inaugural cry of the coming Kingdom, "Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord," was already resounding

in joyous accents on their ears. At another, the Master Himself was dashing all their hopes to the ground by speaking to them of "the death He was about to accomplish at Jerusalem."

I know no more pathetic scene in all the Gospel story than this of Jesus, foreboding of His fate, "steadfastly setting His face to go up to Jerusalem," while behind Him, in awful reverence—their eyes spell-bound by the calm majesty of the figure which preceded them, majestic with the transfiguration, not this time of glory, but of self-sacrifice—the disciples toil slowly up the long, sultry, barren gorge that leads to the great city.

Arriving there on the Friday night, Jesus had parted from the train of Galilean pilgrims and had passed on to spend his last Sabbath in the loved home at Bethany. There, in the house of his friend Lazarus, he had met with a great reception. To do Him honour the family had made a supper and invited guests. Many people appear to have been present, attracted by the fame of Jesus and also by the desire of

seeing Lazarus, of whom such strange things had been related. Lazarus was seated at table with the guests. Martha busied herself about the serving as was her custom. To their sister Mary, however, it was left to pay even a higher tribute of honour and affection to their mighty benefactor and friend. During the progress of the meal she had entered bearing an alabaster vase of Indian spikenard, the costliest anointing oil of antiquity, and coming softly behind Jesus where He sat, had opened the seal and poured out the precious perfume, first on the head and then on the feet of Jesus, wiping them presently with the long tresses of her hair. And then, as if to save even the precious box itself from the desecration of further use, had broken its dainty work into fragments, filling as she did so all the house with the delicious fragrance of the ointment. Under any circumstances, in those days and lands, it would have been a costly gift, than which no higher could be offered to a king. Indeed, it has been said that amid all the pomps and greatness of Roman prodigality, to

anoint the feet of even the greatest monarch was a custom unknown until Otho brought it to Nero.

No wonder, then, that to lavish such a gift on the rich luxury of one brief moment would seem to the poor Galilean followers of Jesus, so little accustomed to luxury of any kind, the very abandonment of prodigality. And in one mean and selfish heart the unstinted devotion of Mary only sufficed to kindle smouldering thoughts of disloyalty and resentment. To one person, at least, in the room, her splendid act of romantic wastefulness was hateful and repulsive. "To what purpose is this waste?" exclaimed, with fierce indignation, the traitor Judas, the greedy treasurer of the little band. "This ointment might have been sold for three hundred pence and given to the poor!" Three hundred pence—ten pounds, or more! What "perdition of good money" must that have seemed to this mean soul.

But Jesus, with that tender thought for the feelings of his devotee, and with that perfect tact of gentleness which always characterized

Him at such moments of social difficulty, put aside quietly the mean utility of the Judas sneer—"It might have been sold for ten pounds and distributed to the poor"—and recognising that the love in the deed not only justified but glorified the wasteful, unproductive expenditure, laid down an eternal principle of ethical action for all time. "Why trouble ye the woman? Let her alone. She hath wrought a good work. The poor ye have with you always, but Me ye have not always." True, in speaking thus Christ contradicted His own express command on a former occasion—"Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor!" But Christ cared little for apparent contradictions of speech. His teaching was always on a plane where the charge of inconsistency could not touch Him, for He knew well that when men get down to first principles they come to learn that they are in a place where seeming contradictions are in reality at one. And so it was here. To the rich ruler he had said, "Yes; sell all that you have and give to the poor. That is the one

thing for you to do. Make your capital productive, not by its consumption for your own personal ends or for selfish ostentation, but by producing material happiness for those who are in need!" And to the faithful woman he said, "No; you have also wrought a good deed; your lavish, too generous gift is even a higher use of expenditure than the other, and productive of a purer welfare to the race, for such self-forgetful acts of profound and noble feeling produce profound and noble feeling." "Verily, I say unto you, where-soever this gospel shall be preached in all the world, this also which this woman hath done shall be told as a memorial of her."

My friends, here we have the principle for which I am in search. All expenditure is justified which can be shown to be productive, not only of material comfort to those in need, but productive of such pure and noble feeling as shall add to the sum of the world's unselfish happiness.

It is really only another expression, you perceive, of the truth which we reached last

Sunday, when we saw that the ultimate social good was the true ground upon which all property rests. Anyhow, I fancy we shall want no other test than this principle of Christ, in our search for the true answer to the question, "What is culpable luxury?"

I have no hesitation, at least, in asking you to take it as a working hypothesis. I have no fear that it will lead you very far astray. Let us take a case.

Here is a Liverpool merchant, a capitalist, in receipt of a yearly income—shall we say, of fifteen thousand pounds. It is no very extravagant hypothesis. And here is an analysis of his possible expenditure. We may arrange it roughly, I think, into these five classes:—

1. A portion reinvested in business.
2. A portion held in compulsory trust for others.
3. A portion spent in culpable luxury.
4. A portion spent in unthoughtful charity.
5. A portion spent in noble luxury.

Look briefly at the various heads of expenditure:—

1. A certain proportion of his income he decides to save and reinvest in his own business or in some other, with a view to an ultimately increased yearly profit. What shall we say to this? If we are anything of political economists we shall probably say that such a disposal of his wealth is altogether wise. For of "wealth" spent thus "productively," as it is called, we all know the general effects. It will benefit not only the capitalist himself, but workmen and labourers and other capitalists, by spending more on wages and raw materials and new ships and warehouses and machinery. It will, in fact, in this way perpetually reproduce itself and add something continually, while in the process it will be benefiting many classes of people, like a fountain ever flowing and ever refilling itself from its own stream, which keeps augmenting.

2. But again, a certain proportion of his wealth he is obliged to hold in trust for others, as administrator, for his medical man, for his family solicitor, the tutor for his sons, the governess and teachers for his daughters, for

his servants, for the builder, upholsterer, coach-maker, for his grocer and wine-merchant, for his defaulting debtors, for those who have dexterously overreached him and got his wealth gratis, for the State in the shape of taxes imperial and local, for the charitable institutions of his native town, and so forth, and so forth.

Now here it is only when we begin to consider the proportion of the expenditure between these various channels of consumption that we claim to exercise a moral judgment. It is when we come to inquire in detail what exactly are the kinds of things upon which his income goes, what are the superfluities in which he delights to indulge, that we come upon considerations of moral praise or blame, and perceive the real difference as to patriotic and social value between one rich man or another.

3. There is no question that such a man as I have described may so spend his fifteen thousand pounds a year, or his fifth part of it even, as to be a curse to his fellow-coun-

trymen, a reproach and an object of contempt to his fellow-citizens, so that there can be no hesitation in our verdict as we say—"This, undoubtedly, is not only culpable but criminal luxury!" He may demoralise and disgust all about him, may scatter his means in gambling, drinking, idling, or worse vices still, so that we none of us have any difficulty in knowing that such a life is to be condemned.

But a long way short of this contemptible criminal type of idle rich man, are there not hundreds of wealthy men amongst us who have, in no sense, realised that the question of justifiable expenditure on the superfluities of life is not altogether settled when they have considered what is honest and what is legal, and have not also asked the question, What is for the ultimate social good of the community? How many men, for example, use their wealth mainly for purposes of ostentation and display; how comparatively few there are whose expenditure is absolutely free from the taint of personal vanity or family pride! What vast sums of money—vast, at any rate, when one

thinks of the miseries they might remedy—are spent upon luxurious dinners and costly clothes, and spent not to give refined pleasure to others, but rather to win an envious applause at the expense of others ! How many rich women there are who carelessly wear fine clothes without a thought of the possible cost in a sister's shame or death—fine ladies who, notwithstanding their riches, are not ashamed to be bargain-mongers, forgetting that some “cheap” things are too dear for human use ! Ah, my friends ! is there not many an article of luxury, many a senseless toy, which, if only our eyes could be opened, we should see to bear the stains of human blood, and the rust of human tears ? Are there not still, even in these days, those who are a little like the merchant brothers in Keats's poem of “Isabella” ?—

“ With her two brothers this fair lady dwelt,
Enrichèd from ancestral merchandise,
And for them many a weary hand did swelt
In torchèd mines and noisy factories.

.

"For them the Ceylon diver held his breath,
 And went all naked to the hungry shark ;
 For them his ears gush'd blood ; for them in death
 The seal on the cold ice with piteous bark
 Lay full of darts ; for them alone did seethe
 A thousand men in troubles wide and dark.

.
 "Why were they proud ? Because their marble founts
 Gushed with more pride than do a wretch's tears ?
 Why were they proud ? Because fair orange mounts
 Were of more soft ascent than lazar stairs ?
 Why were they proud ? Because red-lined accounts
 Were richer than the songs of Grecian years ?
 Why were they proud ? Again we ask aloud,
 Why in the name of glory were they proud ?"

4. Again there are few rich men in these days who do not devote a certain proportion of their income to charity. But how much of this is really thoughtful charity ? That was a true saying of the great German poet Goethe, "There is nothing so terrible as active ignorance." And certainly it is one of the most melancholy of human reflections, that our modern philanthropy should illustrate but too faithfully the truth of his words. But no doubt we are beginning to awake to the difficulty of "doing good" by almsgiving. Listen

to what our townsman, Mr. Charles Booth, in his book on "The Life and the Labour of the People," says on this point—

"We are face to face with the immediate difficulty of the relief of indigence, and with the fact that mere giving as a remedy for poverty no longer holds the field. That the rich of their abundance should humbly, and in the name of God, give to the poor, help the unfortunate, and succour the distressed, was the solution of religion, but in these latter days the efficacy and even the virtue of mere giving has been denied, and on the other hand our faith in the new doctrine, lacking somewhat on the positive side, is not very firmly established. Of the change of feeling, however, there is no question. Although a certain stimulus has been given in late years to mendicity by sentimental appeals and such efforts as the Mansion House relief fund, no student of the history of England can fail to see that begging, though it still exists among us, is falling into discredit; that as a profession its palmy days are over, its great prizes things of

the past. It is driven to assume new shapes to lull suspicion. Even in the tales of Miss Edgeworth, who in her time occupied the van of enlightenment, we find the good ladies recommending their children to give their pennies to the hungry with an indiscriminate-ness to which even the most unenlightened mother of our own days would impose some limits; whilst among the number of those who have thought seriously about the matter at all—and the number who think seriously about it is a constantly increasing figure—it has become a sort of commonplace to hold that almsgiving, without inquiry, method, or personal labour, serves only to intensify and perpetuate the evil it desires to relieve.”

I know there are those who will fancy that such phrases and warnings as the Christian economist, knowing the evils of indiscriminate charity, is obliged to utter on the dangers of indiscriminate charity, may be taken by churls as an excuse for illiberality. I don't know that that very much matters. For it is only the subject of his excuse that will be affected

by anything that the preacher can probably say in that direction, not the character of his liberality. But of this I am quite sure, that those who try to put a fetter on their kindly impulses from the well-founded fear of doing harm will be made by so doing only more truly compassionate, more truly charitable, more truly liberal. They may be made less at ease, it is true, in the enjoyment of comfort and luxury. I do not see how we can be intended to escape some of that discomfort, some feelings of doubt whether we ought to have so much pleasure out of the pleasant things of life whilst those whom we are bound to own as partners and brothers are so badly off. As Mr. Ruskin said long ago in his "Unto this Last," "Luxury can only at present be enjoyed by the ignorant: the cruelest man living could not sit at his feast unless he sat blindfold."

5. Lastly, the rich man may spend a certain portion of his wealth in noble luxury. But to do this he must learn how to spend nobly on things of real worth and lasting value,

on things which will give pure pleasure to his neighbours of all classes, on things which will kindle in their hearts the sense of beauty and bring with them the thoughts that exalt and purify and ennoble life. If he can do this he will have found one way at least of serving God in his generation after the mind of Christ, when he has learnt that wealth must be consumed, but consumed in joy; that life, laborious life, self-denying life, must be graced with beauty and filled with many pleasures, but that the highest pleasure is the pleasure of helpful life itself, the joy of love, of fellow-help; that no luxury in fact is culpable, no wealth is wasted, which serves to make its consumer a more useful, a more helpful person to the world.

I have already said that "wealth does not release the rich man from his obligation to work, but only enables him to do unpaid work for society." We want, I think, to emphasize this truth and to expand it; we want, that is to say, to form a strong public opinion as to the social obligation which lies upon the rich man

to undertake great works of public utility. I do not know what a man is a millionaire for, unless it is that he should undertake great public works for the nation. And yet if there is one thing invariable about our English millionaires it is their failure to do anything of the kind. Which of them, for example, has ever attempted to do any mighty work for the people—to give London water, say, or rebuild a squalid section of Liverpool, or turn a smaller city into an ideal municipality, or to solve the problem of peasant proprietorship by buying up a whole English county?—all of them tasks which any one of our last half-dozen millionaires, if he had a strong will and thirty years of life before him, might quite reasonably attempt. And there are numberless things which men of lesser wealth, but with more than they have a right to spend on themselves, might do to help on the world. Why here in Liverpool, although we have had within the last twenty years some noble examples of wealth expended in the public service, there are still fifty ways waiting in which private persons might do

public duties. If we had only half the patriotic spirit of ancient Rome or Athens there would be an embarrassment of riches to-morrow for all civic purposes which money could serve.

Squalid Liverpool might then very soon become a city of such wisely ordered magnificence, of such noble provision for all the higher forms of pleasure for collective use, for the prime necessities of physical health—pure air, pure water, pure food; the prime necessities of spiritual health—admiration, hope, and love; that something at least of the stateliness and dignity and splendour of human life should be brought within the reach of the humblest of her citizens; that even luxury itself should have ceased to have become culpable, for it would have become luxury, created by all, helped by all, shared by all. But once more you will think I am taking refuge in Utopia. I am not ashamed of the charge. For I know well, and history bears me out, that the Utopias of one age, of one generation, are very often the familiar dwelling

places of the next, and that though some are "marsh fires that lead astray, others are stars that guide."

And, indeed, I am loth to think there is any decay of essential public spirit in my native town. If our civic patriotism seems inactive, I would rather say hopefully, "It is not dead but sleepeth." And everyone of us I know can do something to rouse it. It is not the smallness of the effect of one earnest man's work that strikes me most, but its greatness. And although it is heart-breaking no doubt sometimes to

"Haggle with prejudice for pennyworths
Of that reform which your hard toil will make
A common birthright of the age to come,"

still, for the Christian citizen there is such a thing as hope and faith. And we are not called upon, you and I, to reform our city, we are called upon to reform ourselves after the spirit of Christ. Let us strive, therefore, each one of us to create for ourselves at least such a civic ideal as shall serve to strengthen influences which we derive from those around

us, to cultivate generous and social instincts, to brighten life with wholesome joy, to infuse Christian motive and glow and warmth into our desire to live among men as brothers in the sight of God as a Father.

THE SINS OF USURY.

“Lend, hoping for nothing again.”—ST. LUKE vi. 35.

“If you lend your money to a man from whom you expect more than you give—not money alone, but anything else, whether it be wheat, wine, oil, or any other article—if you expect to receive any more than you gave you are a usurer, and in that respect reprehensible, not praiseworthy.”—S. AUGUSTINE ON PSALM xxxvi. 26.

“As long as the Church’s Doctrine of Usury was believed and acted on, the arm of industry was paralysed, the expansion of commerce was arrested, and all the countless blessings that have flowed from them were withheld.”—W. E. H. LECKY.

THE SINS OF USURY.

“ I DO openly declare that every minister and every churchwarden throughout all England are actually perjured and forsworn by the 109th Canon of our Church, if they suffer any usurer to come to the Sacrament till he be reformed, and there is no reformation without restitution.”

I need perhaps hardly say that these are not my own words. But I should certainly feel compelled to adopt them as my own, or to find words quite as strong, and quite as uncompromising, if I felt that Christ claimed literal obedience for this command. For after reading carefully the Bible texts on the subject, with such comments of authoritative interpreters as I possess, I have not the slightest doubt that what the Bible means by “usury,” and what

Christ had in his mind when he uttered this precept, and when in his parable of the talents he drew the picture of the "austere hard man," the banker or money-lender—one of the commonest figures then as now in the everyday social life of the East—was just this: that it is a sin to take money from your friends—and Christianity teaches that all mankind are friends—for the loan or use of anything (over and above what pays for wear and tear), such use involving no care or labour on the part of the lender.

It is rather an astonishing statement perhaps, and if accepted as expressing a present ethical obligation would undoubtedly undermine the basis of all modern commerce. But I have no doubt it expresses accurately the Scriptural point of view. Certainly it is the Old Testament point of view.

The good old gentleman whose words I commenced my sermon by quoting—the Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, a century or two ago—quite rightly interpreted his text from Ezekiel (xviii. 8—13), about the man who "hath not given forth upon usury" when he

said—"Mark it—'he that taketh *any* increase' above the principal, not six in a hundred, but let it be never so little, and never so moderate—he that taketh any interest is a usurer and such as shall surely die for his usury."

The early Jewish Law on the subject is quite explicit. In the detailed exposition of the Law in the Hexateuch you will remember the clause about "usury" in Exodus xxxii. 25—"If thou lend money to any of My people with thee that is poor, thou shalt not be to him as a creditor: neither shall ye lay upon him usury. If thou at all take thy neighbour's garment to pledge, thou shalt return it unto him by that the sun goeth down." In Leviticus xxv. 35 a similar clause runs thus—"If thy brother be waxen poor and his hand fail with thee, then thou shalt uphold him. . . . Take thou no usury of him or increase, but fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee." I might quote also several passages from the Psalms and the Prophets, where commendation is pronounced on those who take no usury, and malediction on those who do. On the other

hand, it is true that in Deuteronomy xxiii. 20, there is a special permission given to the Jews to lend money to strangers, a permission of which the Jews in all ages and countries have not been slow to avail themselves—"Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother, usury of money, usury of victuals, usury of anything that is lent upon usury: unto a foreigner thou mayest lend upon usury."

But it will be said no doubt, and very properly, this is only Old Testament teaching, the letter of the old law which Christ came to fulfil, to fill full, that is to say, with a new meaning and a new spirit for those who became His followers. "The letter killeth, the spirit giveth life." Well, that is true, no doubt. But let us quite clearly understand our position. For my own part, I have no doubt at all about the spirit of Christ's teaching on this point, and we shall come to that in good time. But, meanwhile, there are those who are not satisfied to trust themselves to the spirit of Christ's teaching, but they want to have the letter of His teaching on their side also. They

say Christ specially commended usury, the lending out of money at interest, in His parable of the unprofitable servant, quoting the words, "Thou oughtest therefore to have put out my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received my own with usury." But such a deduction from Christ's use of the figure of the austere lord is a little foolish. For the argument overreaches itself. If you are going to take Christ's use of all the details which make up the social background of the story as a proof that He endorses with His commendation all those social details equally with the spiritual truth of which the story was the vehicle, you will find yourself landed in this difficulty—that Christ commended here the institution of slavery, for these servants in the parable, both the profitable and the unprofitable to their lord, were undoubtedly bond-slaves. And, further, it is plain that you can only be right in arguing that earthly usury is justified by this parable if you are also prepared to argue that God is a hard God, grasping and austere, "reaping where He has not sown."

No ! I think, if you want to be quite literal, you had better keep to the strict text of the Sermon on the Mount, where Christ tells us that the "Most High is kind to the unthankful and the evil."

And among the literalists you will be in good company. You will have at least as your champion one great ethical teacher of modern times. In certain well-known letters, published a few years ago under the title of "Fors Clavigera," and nominally addressed to the workmen of England, Mr. Ruskin very unhesitatingly declared himself on the side of the literalists in this matter. "Usury," he said plainly, "includes all investments of capital whatsoever returning dividends, as distinguished from labour, wages, or profits. Thus anyone who works on a railroad as platelayer or stoker has a right to wages for his work ; and any inspector of wheels or rails has a right to payment for such inspection ; but idle persons, who have only paid £100 towards the road making, have the right to the return of £100, and no more. If they take a farthing

more they are usurers! They may take £50 for two years, or £25 for four, or £1 for the hundred. But the first farthing they take more than their hundred, be it sooner or later, is usury."

"But how are we to live?" asks of the prophet a chorus of dividend-holders.

"Gentlemen and ladies all!"—Mr. Ruskin replies—"you are to live on your £100 saved, and if you want £5 more you must go and work for £5, just as a man who has not a hundred must work for the first £5 he gets." And when further some of these good ladies he thus admonishes explain to him that they cannot work, that they are old and feeble, or young and untrained, and they do not know what is to become of them with the hope of their dividends gone, he can only reply—"Well, I do not know either. There are many amiable persons in like sort who do not see their way distinctly any more than I do myself to an honest life—only let us be sure that the life we are leading now is a dishonest one."

That is a candid speech. But it is not very

helpful. And it appears perhaps still less helpful, to those at anyrate who wish to live a consistent life, when they find that Mr. Ruskin himself, being comparatively a wealthy man, with an income derived in the most part from dividends, replies to the workman who writes bluntly—"I sincerely wish you could feel it your duty to withdraw all your money from usury. It would increase tenfold the force of your teaching on the subject"—"Well, pray do not think that it would be any inconvenience for *me* to do so. Nothing would please me better than to hand over my dead capital to my old college friend, the bursar of Corpus, and ask him to dole it out to me in weekly payments of a couple of guineas at a time: but such an arrangement, though entirely convenient to me, would be very inconvenient to a number of other persons, at present dependent upon me for daily bread, who not sharing my views about interest, would therefore get no consolation out of their martyrdom."

Well, my friends, I have the greatest possible respect for Mr. Ruskin. My personal

debt of gratitude to him for all sorts of intellectual help and stimulus is greater than I can express. From college days until now his books have always been to me a source of inspiration, second only to that of Frederick Maurice and Joseph Mazzini and Russell Lowell. I believe him to be one of the most fruitful teachers of our day, not only in the realm of Art criticism and æsthetic culture, in which, of course, on all hands he is acknowledged to be a supreme master, but also in the realm of economic and social ethics. But like many great spiritual teachers, like many prophets, like Christ Himself, he is fond of teaching by paradox.

And so to a great extent I think it is here.

The tone of exaggeration which one cannot help detecting in his teaching has no doubt its use and justification in that it seems the only way to rouse the dead consciences and callous hearts of a Mammon-worshipping race to pay attention to spiritual truth, to recognise that at least there may be other ways of looking at the ethics of trade and industry than that of

Lombard Street and the Exchange: that there are some not altogether uncommon transactions of everyday business life which should be called by another name, inasmuch as they are direct violations, for the sake of petty gain, of God's supreme law of justice between man and man: that whether usury in the strict sense of interest on productive capital is morally culpable or not, there can be no doubt that much of the evil which in old days was traceable to the cruelty and extortion of the money-lender and the usurer has its modern parallel in the evils which are traceable to our unrestricted competitive capitalist system: that there are business customs and tricks of trade which quite justify a prophet of our own day in his picture of commercial England praying thus to Beelzebub—"Help us, thou great lord of shoddy, adulteration and misfeasance, to do our work with a maximum of slimness, swiftness, profit and mendacity, for the devil's sake. Amen!"

But, after all, strong, stormful language such as this, pardonable, justifiable though it may

be under the circumstances, does not alter the fact, which, to my mind at least, is quite unmistakable, and which I endeavoured to state as clearly as I could in my first sermon, that for Christian men, at the present day, it is not the mere letter of Christ's words, the temporary and accidental garment into which He was forced by His own social environment to throw His meaning, but the inherent spirit of His teaching, universal, enduring, surviving, ever extant through all forms and all times, which must rule modern practice.

And this I think has ever been the truest teaching of His Church.

There is no doubt, of course, that the early Christian Fathers took very strongly the view that all lending of money at interest was usury, and therefore sinful, but it is interesting to observe that this opinion was not founded on a blind following of the letter of the Bible, but that it was well grounded—first, on their moral repugnance to the practice from what they saw and felt of its evil effects on the social and economic life of their own time, when all

money-lending at interest was from the rich man to the poor man, to meet the poor man's necessity, and therefore too often associated with cruelty and hardship ; and, secondly, from their method of regarding the whole question from the point of view of the motives which ought to rule in ordinary business. It was, in fact, on the last ground for the most part that the positive teaching of the early Church rested. Covetousness they rightly saw to be at the root of any sin there might be in taking advantage of one's neighbour's necessity to make personal gain for oneself. The Christian motive to a life of honest industry, lived as in God's sight and in full sense of responsibility to Him for any wealth that might legitimately be accumulated, would work itself out quite differently from the mere greed of gain, because it would form a character that was diligent in business, but did not make haste to be rich. To do one's work, the Christian teacher said, steadily and well, in expectation of honest reward, was one thing ; to strive by covetous overreaching of others, or by successful specu-

lation, which is generally only another name for the same thing, to amass a fortune, and thus rise above the necessity of working, was quite another.

This point of view, which is consistently taken by the Christian Fathers, and which was afterwards embodied in the Canon Law, gives, as you can see, a true nobleness to the daily round of human life, by placing it in conscious connection with the thought of God and of work for Him.

I do not think we at all sufficiently estimate the immense gain of this positive Christian teaching to the early development of European industry and trade, and thereby to the whole structure of modern civilisation. We forget, many of us, I am sure, how great was the debt of English commerce to the English Church in the early days. The principles of Christian ethics, as elaborated in the Canon Law of the Church, were, in the early days of our history, regularly administered in England, and we ought not to make the mistake of supposing that the influence of the Canon Law was only

felt in the ecclesiastical tribunals. The whole of English society, in fact, had come into being under Christian guidance, and down to the time of the Tudors, at any rate, was carried on distinctly under Christian sanction. I have elsewhere drawn attention at some length (in my University Sermons on "Christ and Democracy") to the immense debt which the industrial order of the present owes to the institutions of the Christian Church: how, for example, it was owing to the beneficent example of the Christian monks, and the religious enthusiasm which they carried into their daily work, whatever it might be, of tilling the soil or cultivating the arts, that that contempt for labour and industry, which had naturally grown up in Greece and Rome, where all labour was slave labour and all industry servile, was gradually corrected, and the first example set to Europe of industry conducted on a large scale by free labour. And I have also pointed out how great has been the influence of that same Church in fostering the growth of the early guilds and industrial cor-

porations, which, whatever may have been their evil effects in later times, were the necessary agents in the creation, at the epoch of the enfranchisement of towns, of that industrial property springing from labour, which from that time has had a position in our social system, independent of and rivalling that territorial property, whose origin and constitution was purely military. And a study of economic history would equally show that a similar influence was exercised by the mediæval Church in its attempt to lay down definite Christian principles for the regulation of the money transactions, both of the landowner, the merchant, and the craftsman.

We have no time now to enter into details. But the leading principle upon which the mediæval casuists laid stress, as of right, regulating not only the rate of interest on money loans, but the rate of wages for craftsmen's work done, and the rate of merchants' profits for goods transported and brought to public market, was this:—

That no money was legitimately earned

which was not an actual price paid for services rendered, and services which were actually demanded by the needs of the commonwealth, not merely transactions carried on purely for the purposes of personal gain.

My friends, this is a very interesting and far-reaching principle, and from it I think we may deduce a true definition of "usury" for modern times.

In so far as the rate of interest is determined, not in accordance with the service rendered by the lender, but in accordance with the need felt by the borrower, there is extortion, and therefore usury.

I am sure it is the principle which is most likely to be helpful to us in any endeavour we may make to create a purer and a nobler social ideal for our own day. Its general acceptance would imply, no doubt, a very considerable change in our modern conception of legitimate trade. But social and industrial ideals have changed in England, and may change again.

Roughly speaking, we have had three great

economic periods in England, dominated respectively by three very distinct social ideals.

I. We had a first mediæval period, whose starting-point was the reign of Edward I., during which English economic life was moulded in accordance with ideas common to all Christendom, summarised conveniently enough, for example, in the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, the root principles of which may be said to be two—(1) That property is a trust to be exercised for the good of the community, and that (2) Trading can only be justified on the same ground, viz., the convenience of society, and never by the merely personal desire of accumulating wealth.

II. The second period is the Jacobean, at the time of the rise of European nationalities, when national progress and prosperity were always measured relatively, when trade policy was always regulated by considerations of the balance of power, and the method of pursuing wealth may be said to have been directed in accordance with national policy.

III. Lastly we have our own period of

Cobdenism or *Laissez-faire*, in which freedom for individuals to pursue their private interest has been accepted as the social ideal, based no doubt on the philosophical teaching of the previous century,—Hume's, for example,—that the true interests of each individual and of all really coincide. Until the last few years this policy of *Laissez-faire* and free competition had been almost universally accepted, not only as a protest against unwise State interference, but as a regulative principle from which positive maxims can be deduced.

It is under this system that we have seen the growth of the capitalist, properly so called, the capitalist-employer, the peculiar product of our own time, who owes his great position to a series of happy accidents, to two chiefly, the inventions of science, which placed at his disposal mechanical and engineering skill, and the development of banking, which found funds for him for his great enterprises. It is these things, in conjunction with his own egoistic genius, strenuous energy and faculty of initiation, which have made him the master

of the modern industrial world, and the most commanding figure of modern society.

During the last year or two, however, there have been signs that we are entering upon a new economic period. What the natural historical development of that period may be it would not perhaps be wise to prophesy. But of this I think we may be quite sure—that if that period is to be dominated by a noble social ideal we cannot dispense with Christian teaching. It may not be possible, it would not indeed be wise, to attempt to return to the old regulative system of the Canon Law; but it is possible, and it would be wise, to insist that our modern commercial ideal should be inspired by the old Christian spirit of that law—should contain the Christian principles upon which the maxims of that Law were based. And among those principles I think I shall be right if I say that the following will be found demanding recognition:—

1. That to identify the increase of national wealth with the increase of individual wealth is a gross social mistake; that, on the other

hand, national wealth ought always to be treated with constant reference to national life; and that, therefore, in all questions of dispute between capital and labour, in the last resort, it must be remembered that it is *not a question about wealth, but about men.*

2. That “a system of industry under which one man may acquire in a lifetime as much money as Adam would have laid by out of his earnings if he had lived till our time and saved three pounds a week, is not a perfected system of human brotherhood;” that the accumulation of great masses of wealth in the country, so far from being a national blessing is a national curse—unless it can be proved that, along with the accumulation of material riches, there is also a permanent and widely-spread accumulation of the elements necessary for the sustaining and prolonging of a noble national character and life.

3. That although modern Christian economics may quite justifiably show that interest on invested capital is quite legitimate, where the advantage to the borrower is evidently as

great or greater than it is to the lender, yet that the sin of usury is not extinct, *so long as money remains the master and not the servant of labour and industrial power*, and thus constantly falls under the temptation of making profit at the expense of wage.

4. That no money is legitimately earned which is not an exchange value for actual services rendered, services which minister to life, and help on the common good; and consequently no wealth is honest wealth which is accumulated by merely taking advantage of the ignorance or the weakness or the misfortune of our neighbour, and rendering him no equivalent reciprocal service.*

* "Success, while society is guided by laws of competition, signifies always so much victory over your neighbour as to obtain the direction of his work, and to take the profits of it. *This is the real source of all great riches.* No man can become largely rich by his personal toil. (By his art he may; but only when its produce, or the sight or learning of it, becomes a subject of dispute, so as to enable the artist to tax the labour of multitudes highly, in exchange for his own.) The work of his own hand, wisely directed, will indeed always maintain himself and his family, and make fitting provision for his age. But it is only by the discovery of some method of taxing the labour of others that he can become opulent."—Ruskin, "Munera Pulveris," p. 177.

5. That every Christian man or woman who lends money and receives interest upon it, who takes part, that is to say, in a commercial concern, and receives a proportion of profits in the shape of dividends, is bound not only to ask whether the business is safe to pay, but whether the business *deserves* to pay—whether, for example, men and women of the same flesh and blood as yourself are toiling twelve and fifteen hours a day as tramway conductors or railway pointsmen to earn that dividend which you receive with such wicked complacency.

My friends, these are some of the principles—I might easily add to the list—which lie at the root of the problem we have been considering to-day, and whose consideration, I think, ought to compel each one of us to put to our consciences some very searching questions. And remember if we, professing and calling ourselves Christians, refuse to ask those questions, there are those who, perhaps, trouble themselves little about Christianity, who will force us to answer them.

It cannot, I think, be doubted that the world

is moving onwards towards some great social reconstruction. The very air vibrates with the tramp of coming change. It is all very well for you to speak of the Labour leaders and the Trade agitators, and the Socialists, and the Anarchists, as the "dangerous classes." No ! it is *you* who are the dangerous classes—if your superfluities and luxuries tempt the passions of the destitute ; if your opulence, instead of being a grand means, a solemn trust, a grave responsibility, is merely a source of sensual indulgence and vacant worthlessness ; if but a mere fraction of your accumulated goods is given to the perishing ; if your extravagances are a challenge to the covetous, your ostentation a temptation and an evil to the envious, if your hand as an employer lies heavy on those whom you employ—then, I say, it is you, and not the Socialists, who are "the subverters of society and the torch-bearers of revolution."

Believe me, if men cannot get the Socialism of Jesus Christ, they will get the Socialism of the Devil.

UNTHOUGHTFUL ALMSGIVING.

"Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away. . . . Sell that thou hast and give alms. . . . Let thine alms be in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret, Himself shall reward thee openly. . . . He that hath two coats, let him impart to him that hath none. . . . Give alms of such things as ye have, and behold all things are clear unto you."

ST. MATTHEW v. 42, ST. LUKE vi. 30.

"But it hath also been said concerning this matter, let thine alms sweat in thine hands until thou knowest to whom thou shouldest give."—THE DIDACHE.

"In alms regard thy means and others' merit ;
Think heaven a better bargain, than to give
Only thy single market money for it ;
Joyn hands with God *to make a man to live.*"

GEORGE HERBERT.

"One spinal cord there is which animates all the humanitarian words of Christ. One principle deducible from all these sayings. Every one of them is directed not to a mere amelioration of conditions, but to the elevation of the man—the improvement of the receiver and coincidently of the giver. It is impossible to make the man happier (no, nor even permanently richer) by any act or scheme unless you make him better. Unthoughtful almsgiving is not justified by one word of Christ's."—ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

UNTHOUGHTFUL ALMSGIVING.

THESE first sayings are the words, as you know, of the Lord Jesus Christ. They are quite plain and peremptory words. The document in which they occur is on all hands allowed to be the most authoritative document of our religion. They cannot be disregarded by any disciple of Christ.

And yet I think as you listened to my reading of these words, a good many of you must have done so with some misgiving and doubt as to the wisdom of obeying them.

Why was this?

Because you will say that experience has shown that literal and indiscriminating obedience to this command has undoubtedly done immense mischief.

“To do good and to distribute forget not”

is a command the obligation of which has not only been universally acknowledged in theory, but in practice there is none perhaps which has been more universally obeyed by Christians.

Almsgiving was, as you are aware, one of the chief functions of the monastic institutions of the mediæval Church. It was made a legal obligation in the days which succeeded. It has been periodically inculcated from the pulpits of all our Anglican and Protestant Churches, and our Roman Catholic brethren are still more positive in prescribing it on all the faithful. Our own country swarms with proofs how literally and widely, generation after generation, the obligation has been acknowledged and fulfilled. The Reports of the Charity Commission, in countless volumes, bear testimony to the innumerable charities that exist in England, and explain a little of what they have done. There can, in fact, I think, be no doubt that of all Christian precepts this of almsgiving is the one which has been most strictly obeyed—possibly because obedience to it is easier than to any other. Certainly a pious

man, or a tender hearted woman does not feel quite comfortable or *good*, unless they habitually give to beggars, or spend a given portion of their income in succouring the poor—or those who seem such.

And yet *to do good* by almsgiving, by *distributing* money, is coming to be seen every day to be a very difficult business indeed. It is in fact the opinion of all who have given careful consideration and study to the question of the relief of poverty, that nothing has done more to foster the giant evil of pauperism in our great cities than the well-intentioned but thoroughly mischievous practice of indiscriminate almsgiving.

From want of due foresight and knowledge we have allowed our charitable feelings, roused by the sight of actual misery, and eager to apply the necessary remedy, to blind us to those general cases of social distress, whose removal would bring about a much more effectual cure than any mere alleviation of particular symptoms.

It is not so much from want of heart that we

have failed, but from want of thought. It is the good intentions, the blunders perpetrated in the excess of our philanthropic zeal, that have done most of the harm.

That is a true saying of the great German poet, Goethe, "There is nothing so terrible as active ignorance." And certainly it is one of the most melancholy of human reflections that our modern philanthropy should illustrate but too faithfully the truth of his words.

One of the most noble and self-sacrificing, most Christ-like workers among the poor of London once summed up his experience in these words, "I am beginning seriously to believe that all bodily aid to the poor is a mistake, and that the real thing is to let things work themselves straight, whereas by giving alms you make them permanently crooked. Build school-houses, pay teachers, give prizes, form workmen's clubs, help them to help themselves, lend them your brains, but give them no money, except what you sink in such undertakings as these. . . . The gigantic sub-

scription lists, which are vaunted as signs of our benevolence, are monuments of our indifference. . . . Charity is a frightful evil."

I might add to this evidence of Edward Denison, the pioneer of social philanthropy in East London, the witness of his successor in our own generation. In his book "The Life and Labour of the People," which I have several times in the course of these sermons had occasion to quote, our fellow townsman, Mr. Charles Booth, leaves us in no doubt as to his opinion on this question. I will merely remind you of the passage I quoted to you a fortnight ago in my sermon on "Culpable Luxury."

Let me add but one further testimony. Professor Sidgwick, of Cambridge, in his recently published edition of the "Principles of Political Economy," the accepted authoritative text-book on this subject at our Universities, writes thus:—"Although Political Economy has hardly anything positively new to teach to experienced persons with regard to the dangers of almsgiving, it has certainly tended to make

the common view of these dangers more clear, definite, and systematic. It has impressed forcibly on instructed minds the general rule that if a man's wants are supplied by gift when he might have supplied them himself by harder work and greater thrift, his motives to industry and thrift tend to be so far diminished; and not only his motives but the motives of all persons in like circumstances who are thereby led to expect like gifts for themselves" ("Principles of Political Economy." H. Sidgwick, 594).

Well—but you will say, what is to be done?

"I cannot refuse to be charitable. Warn as you will, if I were to refuse to help the apparently hungry woman, who begs me to give her food, I could not eat my own dinner in comfort!" My answer to that is plain:—
"What does it matter whether you eat your own dinner in comfort or not? That is a very secondary consideration compared with the question of doing good or harm to the brother or sister for whom Christ died!"

There is the heart of the whole question.

There is the key to any difficulty there may be in understanding how rightly to obey the commands of Christ.

The whole principle of the Sermon on the Mount is this, that we have a common Father in Heaven, and that in our dealings with our brothers on earth, we are to strive to be like that Father in Heaven. The Sermon on the Mount says, it is true, that we are not to turn away from him that asks. But the Sermon on the Mount also says that our Father in Heaven will not give to those who ask Him a stone for bread, a serpent for a fish.

In other words, God will not do men an injury merely to please them. Neither must we.

If I regard a beggar as a fellow-man, as a brother, I shall conform to this same rule. I shall not give him what will make him idle or brutal. If I turn away from him to get rid of him or to please myself, I degrade him. In doing that I am giving a stone for bread, the serpent for a fish. I am doing the most unbrotherly of all acts. Christ in this

Sermon was not speaking to men as to mere mechanical creatures, but to human beings, to men and women, to spiritual beings, to children of the same Father in Heaven. He calls upon us, therefore, to regard every suffering person as a partner, as a brother or a sister. It is not less pity, less consideration, less love, that you are asked to feel for your brothers or sisters in poverty and misery, but more love, more consideration, more pity. Give, yes, give freely, but take care what you give and to whom you give. Do not give a knife to a madman who asks for it : do not give sweet poison to a child who cries for it. Give what it is really kind to give : give what will be of real advantage to those who ask : give what may do some little good to a fellow sinner or a child of God : and therefore give sometimes in the tenderest Christian charity a stern refusal. Learn to ask not only "How can I put a stop to this suffering?" but also "Why has God permitted this man to suffer? How can I work with Him to make the trouble produce the effect He designs?"

Above all you must not try to be more merciful than God Himself.

Let me explain what I mean by that.

Do you remember that scene by the Pool of Bethesda, and the healing by Christ of the impotent man, who had lain there for thirty-eight years? We are told that a great multitude of impotent folk, blind, halt, withered, were waiting there to be healed. And yet, Christ seeing and comprehending all that misery, healed *only one man*. Why was that do you think? Why was it that possessing, as we should say, so much power to do good, He should have exercised it in this case so sparingly?

I can find no answer other than this. It was because He recognised so fully the value of God's education by pain and suffering, that as the Lord of Humanity coming to restore man's moral nature He was able by His intimate communion with God to see into the methods by which the working of nature could be set right, when by some breach of God's law it had gone wrong. He thus by His action

gave us this most convincing testimony of the truth that true mercy is far different from weak sympathy, or mawkish tolerance of wrong; that profuse liberality is a gross parody on divine benevolence, and that the man who simply goes about trying to staunch the tears of those who cry without examining whether they have brought their trouble on themselves,—who, in short, tries to be more merciful than God—may think himself a charitable man, but may chance to earn the name of a meddling fool.

The Pool of Bethesda, believe me, is a microcosm of Christ's life. He was in the midst of suffering, moral and physical. He did not attempt to relieve all.

Another lesson we may learn from Christ's method of dealing with misery and sickness.

In every case where a cure was effected Christ seems minutely to have inquired into the personal circumstances of the case. In the abridged narrative of the Gospels, the facts attending the cures are in many cases omitted, but in the different accounts of the same event

we learn enough to assure us that Christ did not use his power without careful examination.

And further, there is not wanting a hint that each act cost him something. "Virtue, strength, went out of him." This seems to witness to the belief that the cures of Christ were not effected without the cost of exertion as well as inquiry.

Certain definite principles then as to the true methods of almsgiving in modern times are, I think, to be gained from a close study of the words and method of Christ Himself. But before, in conclusion, I attempt to formulate them, let me say this.

I can quite well fancy that such phrases and warnings as the Christian economist, knowing the evils of indiscriminate charity, is obliged to utter on the dangers of indiscriminate charity may be taken by churls as an excuse for illiberality. I do not know that that very much matters. For it is only the subject of their excuses that will be affected by anything that the preacher can probably say in that direction, not the character of their liberality.

But of this I am quite sure, that those who try to put a fetter on their kindly impulses from the well-founded fear of doing harm will be made by so doing only more truly compassionate, more truly charitable, more truly liberal. They may be made less at ease, it is true, in the enjoyment of comfort and luxury. I do not see how we can be intended to escape some of that discomfort, some feelings of doubt whether we ought to have so much pleasure out of the pleasant things of life whilst those whom we are bound to own as partners and brothers are so badly off. As Mr. Ruskin said long ago, in his "Unto this Last," "Luxury can only at present be enjoyed by the ignorant: the cruelest man living could not sit at his feast unless he sat blindfold."

"If once we saw clearly that it would be for the good of our less prosperous brothers that we should strip ourselves of our possessions and give them away, it seems clear that the law of Christ would bind us to make the sacrifice. We are not allowed to make more of our own comfort than of the real good of our

brethren. But it is more than doubtful whether the renunciation of our wealth would be the best way of serving our brethren.

“If I had the power of persuading you who are in this church to sell all that you have and give away the proceeds to the poor, I would not do it, for it seems to me certain that such action would inevitably do more harm than good. But I have still less doubt that Christ demands in all his disciples such brotherly feeling, such a spirit of comradeship as would be capable of that large renunciation if it were shown to be our best way of helping the poor. And I think we are bound, as I said, to be uneasy in the comfortable enjoyment of so much that our brethren have to go without. We need such uneasiness to prick us into brotherly action ; and if we have the grace to be disturbed by it we shall not fail to find opportunities of lessening it.”

My principles of Christian almsgiving are these. I will formulate them in ten propositions :—

1. *If you give money spend yourself with it.*

In other words, in dealing with individual cases never bestow material help without strict personal investigation.

2. *Do not try to be more merciful than God.* In dealing collectively with a class be prepared to adopt stringent measures, even though in appearance they may involve a stern repression of benevolent emotion.

3. Do not forget that a man may live three days without bread, but *no man can live one day without sympathy.*

4. Remember that *it ought to be an insult to give gifts to any man whom you have not first made your friend.* Sympathy, inspired by respect, is one thing. Patronage is quite another. The development of self-respect should be a first principle with you in all your charity.

5. If you decide that it is right to give money at all, see that you *give adequate relief.* You may dole out shillings thoughtlessly ; but when it comes to 10s. a week for six weeks you will probably take care that the case is a good one.

6. It is far better to *give work* than either

money or goods. It is best of all to *help men to help themselves*, by stimulating every effort which shall bear fruit in time to come.

7. It is worth remembering that there is a stronger motive to thrift and saving by desire of investment in the present, than by desire of insurance against the future.

8. It is essential to remember that every man has his own view of life, and must be free to fulfil it; that in many ways he is a far better judge of it than we can be; he has lived through and felt what we have only seen.

9. Archbishop Egbert said, more than a thousand years ago, "Let him that collecteth immoderate wealth, *for his want of wisdom*, give a third part to the poor."

10. Count Tolstoi said, only the other day, "I met a beggar and he stretched out to me his coarse, ugly hand, blue with cold, and asked an alms. I felt in my pocket, and was ashamed to find I had nothing. I said, 'Brother, I have nothing,' and I gave him my hand. 'Thank you, brother,' he replied, 'that too is an alms.'"

But you wish, perhaps, for more practical advice than this. Well, I think I can give you that also. At any rate I can tell you of an immediate opportunity for the wise indulgence of your charitable impulse. And if you are sincere Christians you ought to be grateful to me for that.

Three years ago when I ventured to suggest the establishment of a District Relief Society for Wavertree, I did so in the hope of affording a practical answer to these three questions.

(i.) How is it possible to put a stop to the overlapping of the various charitable agencies in the township, and to ensure that the large amount of private charity, which one is thankful to know exists, should not fail of its well-intentioned object by the want of system and discrimination in the method of its distribution?

(ii.) How is it possible to bring into the everyday life of our charitable people in Wavertree, who are seeking to help those in need, a far fuller knowledge of the wisest

means of doing so, without in any way lessening that which is the secret of all true service, their store of love and tactful sympathy ?

(iii.) How is it possible, whatever difference of religious belief and opinion and feeling may seem to separate the workers now connected with our various churches and chapels in Wavertree, to unite them for the purposes of the relief of the poor in common and therefore more effective action ?

I do not mean to say that the Wavertree District Relief Society which was founded with this object, has done all that it might, but I do know that during the last three years it has done admirable work. A committee, representative of all religious denominations, with the exception of the Roman Catholic, who declined to join us, has met weekly during the winter months and monthly in the summer. The whole township has been mapped out into sections, to each of which a visitor has been appointed. Careful investigation of all cases of alleged distress have been undertaken, and as a result, the committee—I quote from

the annual report—"are able to point to many instances in which through the timely help afforded homes have been saved from being broken up, and a crisis tided over until the bread-winner of the family has again found employment and ceased either to require or desire extraneous help." In other cases likely to become a permanent charge, the committee have succeeded in procuring the needed relief through the parish authorities. Many cases, also, of attempted imposture have been detected, and some in which the detected, to avoid public exposure, have left the neighbourhood altogether. Indeed, under this head much useful work has been done, and I would venture to impress strongly on all householders who are appealed to by persons having the appearance of being in need, that they should give them the address of the secretary of the society, who will at once make such an investigation as will justify him either in giving immediate relief or refusing to do so, and will then place the case in the hands of a visitor to be carefully inquired into and re-

ported upon, and further adequately dealt with.

For the rest, let me end with this prose-poem of the Russian novelist, Tourgenieff, the lesson of which I am sure I may safely leave to each man to apply to his own heart.

“When they talk to me in praise of the rich Rothschild, who gives away thousands out of his enormous income that children may be educated, sick people clothed, and old people cared for, I am touched, and I praise him too. Only in spite of my being touched, and in spite of my praise, I cannot help remembering some poor labouring people who took into their wretched cottage a little girl, who was kin to them, and had been left an orphan. ‘If we take Kitty into our home,’ said the wife, ‘our last penny will go for her keep. We shan’t be able to buy even salt for our porridge.’ ‘Well, then, let us eat it without salt,’ said the man. There is a long step between Rothschild and that labourer.”

“He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.”

INDUSTRIAL WAR.

“ And Jesus opened the book, and found the place where it was written, The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because He anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor ; He hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable fear of the Lord.”

ST. LUKE iv. 17—19.

“What cometh here from east and west a-wending?

And who are these, the marchers stern and slow ?

We bear the message that the rich are sending

Aback to those who bade them wake and know.

Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,

But one and all if they would dusk the day.

“We asked them for a life of toilsome earning,

They bade us bide their leisure for our bread,

We craved to speak to tell our woeful learning,

We come back speechless, bearing back our dead.

Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,

But one and all if they would dusk the day.

“They will not learn ; they have no ears to hearken,

They turn their faces from the eyes of fate ;

Their gay-lit halls shut out the skies that darken,

But, lo ! this dead man knocking at the gate.

Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,

But one and all if they would dusk the day.

“Here lies the sign that we shall break our prison ;

Amidst the storm he won a prisoner's rest ;

But in the cloudy dawn the sun arisen

Brings us our day of work to win the best.

Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay,

But one and all if they would dusk the day.”

WILLIAM MORRIS.

INDUSTRIAL WAR.

I AM sure we must all have been horrified a fortnight ago to read in the newspapers the account of the furious fight which had just taken place in America, between some thousands of locked-out unionist workmen of the Carnegie Iron Works, at Homestead, and a body of armed mercenaries—Pinkerton's Detectives—which had been hired by the ironmasters to protect their works, while they were carried on by non-unionist men. To the social cynic, I fear, it must have added a dash of grim humour to the tragedy, to be told that the head of the firm of ironmasters was no other than the author of a book, well known, both in this country and in America, for its optimistic prophecies of the industrial future, called "Democracy Triumphant," and also of

the article on "The Gospel of Wealth," published last year in an English Review, in which occurs the now famous saying, "The man who dies a millionaire, dies disgraced."

My friends, this miserable scene of riot and bloodshed is only the latest incident in the long history of a contest which has been going on among European peoples with varied fortune to one side or the other for more than twenty centuries, and which, during eighteen of those centuries at least, has felt the influence of the Christian Church seeking, with, alas, but too meagre success, to bring the contending parties to some sure basis, upon which a future reign of industrial peace may be established.

The study of that history is fraught, I think, with many lessons for every Christian who is anxious to see the promise of the words of Christ, which I have taken for my text, realised in the social mission of His Church.

Let me endeavour to recall to your memories some of the salient features in that long history.

You will not complain, I hope, that it is a subject more suitable for a lecture than a sermon. I do not know why we should be so careful to distinguish between the one and the other. I fancy it is very much a matter of convention. Carlyle once said that "A nation's true Bible was its own history." And certainly if the Hebrew Bible, which, as you know, is largely taken up, not only with the revelation of spiritual truth for all mankind, but with a record of God's dealings with a particular nation in the matter of its constitutional history and civil development, be a cosmopolitan Bible, or rather the first part of one, I do not see, unless we have ceased to believe in God's continual government of the world, why there should not be national Bibles also; and I can imagine no more proper or nobler task for a clergy than the perpetual shaping and elaborating of such a national monument. And, at any rate, of this I am quite certain, that I shall be doing no dishonour to that greater Bible which rightly we reverence as the very word of God if only I can make any

one of you realise the religious sense of all history, if only I can succeed in bringing home to you the fact that God is not less a King over England than He was over Judea,* that if He was a national Redeemer once He probably is so still ; that if in days gone by He led His chosen people Israel out of Egyptian slavery by the hand of His servant Moses, He has led also His chosen people England out of serfdom into free citizenship and through all the social vicissitudes of their history by the hand of chosen servants, prophets, poets, reformers, statesmen, kings ; that, in fact, England has had her divine Genesis and Exodus, her Chronicles of Kings and Prophets, and that finally we each one of us are only worthy of our great national heritage in so far as we show ourselves conscious of the divine sanction which lies behind it.

The first chapter in that labour history of which I wish to speak to you opens at Rome in the year 72 A.D. "Set up a cross for the

* "The Kingdom of the English is the Kingdom of God."—
"Vision of St. Peter," by Brightnoth.

slave," cries the Roman matron in Juvenal. "Why, what has the slave done?" asks her husband. He is merely a beast of burden, chained to the door-post of his master, worked like a beast, scourged, tortured, crucified for the slightest offence or none. But one day Labour strikes, finds a champion in Spartacus, a slave gladiator, who becomes the leader in a long and terrible Servile War. The first European labour revolt is quelled at last, after shaking the very foundations of the State. The same power which forty years before, in a Syrian proconsulate, had given a slave's death to Jesus of Nazareth, now crucified six thousand other slaves along the road from Rome to Capua.

But Labour had its revenge. In due time the institution of slavery brought about the fall of Rome.

Travel onward several centuries. What do you find? A social change in the condition of labour has taken place. The slave has everywhere become a serf. The man with no rights other than those of the beast of burden has in

some way won for himself recognition in the State. But serfdom is hard. Amid the religious fervour of the Crusades, a wild labour movement among the shepherds breaks out—that of the Pastoureux—invoking the name of the Holy Ghost as the patron of their doctrine of equality. They had probably quite as much right to their use of the invocation as those who regarded their claim as profane. Two centuries later there was no pretence of such invocation. Ground down by the oppressive cruelties of his feudal lord, the French peasant rises in revolt, arms himself with clubs, knives, ploughshares, rude pikes, storms the castles of the oppressor, sacks, burns, slays with the fury of a wild beast unchained. The lords are for a time stupefied by the fierceness of the Jacquerie. At last they rally, bring their armour, their discipline, their military experience, the moral ascendancy of a master class to bear. Twenty thousand peasants are soon cut down; their leader is crowned with a circlet of red-hot iron. The labour strike is for the time at an end, but it leaves behind in the ground

the dragon-teeth seed, whose fatal crop was reaped later in the French Revolution.

Meanwhile the peasants of the Forest cantons of Switzerland had successfully thrown off the feudal yoke, and their flag, with its white cross on a red ground, and the motto "Each for all and all for each," had become the flag of a new nation of free peasants and citizens, to be for two centuries a standing challenge to the northern nobles, and a source of inspiration to their peasant brothers in Germany. At last their brothers also revolted, and with the *Bundschuh*, or peasant's clog, for their banner, and "Only what is just before God" for its device, they too struggled to win a deliverance. There are those who say that Luther himself must bear some of the blame for the miseries and disasters of the German Peasants' War. There was a time undoubtedly when the great Reformer had used wild language and done wild deeds. But history, I think, will not lay the blame on Luther, or Münzer, or the wilder prophets, or the misguided peasantry themselves, but on the higher powers

of the State, whose duty it was to have averted revolution by timely reform.

In our own country, during these same periods, the history of labour has many chapters full of startling vicissitude and tragic incident.

Take one such chapter only. During the time of the Plantagenets English serfdom, we hardly know how, was gradually breaking up. In the reign of the early Edwards we find the record already of a large body of free labourers working, not under conditions of feudal service, but for money wage. They were partly, no doubt, the product of the process of emancipation, which had been gradually going on under the influence of the Christian Church, which in those early days was "not only the herald of spiritual blessings to a heathen people, but the tamer of cruel natures, the civiliser of the rude, the cultivator of the waste places, the educator, the guide, the protector whose guardianship was the only safeguard of the woman, the child, and the slave, against the tyranny of their lord and master."

But they were also partly, no doubt, the product of the enfranchisement of the towns, and the growth of the early Trade Guilds, nourished as I said under the influence of the Church. Certainly in the silent growth and elevation of the English people the trading towns led the way. Whenever we get a glimpse, historians tell us, of the inner history of an English town, we always find the same peaceful revolution in progress, feudal services disappearing through disuse or omission, free privileges and charters of immunity being purchased from noble or king by hard cash.

But the social condition of the English towns, which were thus the cradles of free industry, were still in the days of the great Edward but points of light amid the feudal darkness of the rural districts. A greater conqueror, however, than Edward III. appeared. In the year 1348 occurred an event which it is hardly too much to say, changed the whole subsequent history of England. It is only lately, that owing largely to the investigations of Mr. Seebohm and Mr. Rogers, the plague of the Black

Death has assumed that place in the story of our national life which a fact so momentous in its consequence demands. It swept away at least one half of the whole population of the country. The natural economic results rapidly followed. The wages of labour rose. Complaints were soon laid before the feudal Parliament that many labourers, "seeing the necessity of masters and great scarcity of servants, will not serve unless they receive excessive wages." The celebrated "Statute of Labourers" is accordingly passed compelling labourers under penalties to work at the old rates. The labourers, however, were masters of the labour market, and the statute fell inoperative to the ground. But though it was a failure for its immediate end, it proved only but too effective in sowing the seeds of social strife. After smouldering on for some fifty years the disaffection finally broke into flame in the Revolt of the Peasants in 1381.

It is interesting to note how much of religious enthusiasm, or, more strictly speaking, perhaps of fanaticism, bred of the teaching

of the followers of Wycliffe mingled in the movement with the sense of industrial wrong. The poor priests of Wycliffe, in fact, "honey-combed the mind of the upland folk with what may be called religious socialism. By Wycliffe's labours the Englishman had been introduced to the new world of the Old Testament, to the history of the human race, to the primeval garden and the young world, when the first parents of all mankind lived by simple toil, and became the ancestors of proud noble and knight, as well as of the down-trodden serf and despised burgher. They read of the times when there was no king in Israel, when every man did that which was right in his own eyes, and sat down under his own vine and his own fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid. They read how God, through His prophet, had warned Israel of the evils which would come to them when a king should reign over them, and how speedily this was verified in the conduct of the young Rehoboam, with his depraved and foolish councillors, of how woe had been pre-

dicted to the people over whom a child should rule. The God of Israel had bade His people be husbandmen, and not mounted knights and men-at-arms. But, most of all, the preacher would dwell on his own prototype, on the Man of God, the wise prophet who denounced kings and princes and high priests, and by God's commission made them like a potter's vessel in the day of His wrath; or on those bold judges who were zealous even unto slaying.

“For this book, so old, yet so new, the peasant preacher—we are told that many learnt to read when they were old that they might tell the Bible story—would stir up the souls of these peasants with the true narrative of another people, and would be sure that his way to their hearts and their confidence would be, as it always has been with the leaders of a religious revival, by entirely sympathising with their wrongs, their sufferings, and their hopes. And when they told them that the lords had determined to drag them back to their old serfdom, the preacher would dis-

course to them of the natural equality of men, of the fact that all kings, lords, and priests live by the fruits of the earth and the labour of the husbandman, and that it would be better for them to die with arms in their hands, than to be thrust back, without an effort on their part, into the shameful slavery into which they had been delivered. And as their eyes kindled, and they grasped their staves, he would tell them to keep their ears open for the news of their deliverance, that on the password being given, they were at once to hie to the appointed place, when a great work would be done for God's people by His appointed servant." *

One of the most remarkable of these minor clergy, a certain John Ball, "a crazy priest of Kent," as he is termed by Froissart, became, in spite of his "craziness," the moving spirit in the popular revolt. Of the social and political character of his preaching, and to say the least of its anti-feudal bias, there can be no doubt. It is summed up in the quaint lines which on one occasion he took as his text—

* Thorold Rogers, "Work and Wages," p. 254.

“When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?”

It is plain that men who listen with relish to such doctrine as this are ripe for social revolt. It needs but a spark to set the flame alight. And that spark at last was found.

Fearful scenes of confusion, violence and crime followed. For a time the revolting peasants carried everything before them. London itself was in the power of a horde, brutalised by oppression. High officers of State, high ecclesiastics were murdered. We all know the story how finally the boy king, by his courageous self-possession, saved the State. He grants general charters of manumission to the serfs. These, when the danger is over, the feudal Parliament forces him to repudiate. But though the final victory was apparently with the nobles, it was only temporary. A vital blow had been struck at feudalism from which it never recovered. As time went on the demands of the serfs were silently but effectually granted. Personal service was no longer demanded. Money

payment was accepted in lieu of labour rents. In a word, at the close of the fourteenth century, we see the gradual breaking-up of the feudal system, and the emancipated serf rising out of villeinage to take his place in that great body of freeholders, the English yeomanry, who during the next three centuries give so wholesome a stamp to our national character, and whose subsequent decay is, I venture to think, one of the saddest facts in the later history of our country.

I have dwelt, perhaps, more fully than the time at our disposal warrants on this great chapter in the labour history of England. But I shall want before I close to emphasise the national lesson which that story carries.

Meanwhile let me ask you once more to travel with me three centuries further down the highway of time. The death warrant of the old order has been issued. A little more than a century ago a series of remarkable mechanical inventions and scientific discoveries revolutionised the whole industrial and social economy of England, and practically inaugu-

rated a new world. This new spirit of mechanical invention, which has multiplied a thousandfold man's power of natural resources, enormously increased wealth and greatly enlarged the means of human happiness, was the result of the discoveries of physical science. But if we are Christians who believe in the continuous inspiration of the Holy Spirit of God as the active organ of civilisation, we shall in this only recognise a fresh expansion and stirring of the human spirit, under the influence of the Divine Spirit, after long sleep, similar to that which it experienced in the sphere of religion and philosophy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

And yet, though it can hardly be doubted that this impulse was the most important event that had happened to our race since the introduction of Christianity, it is sad to think that, owing very largely surely to our mismanagement, and certainly to our unchristian lack of a spirit of justice and brotherhood, for two generations at least the results have been disastrous to the working classes of this and

other civilised countries, whose condition it reduced from independence and security to one of great uncertainty, hard and monotonous labour, and dependence on the employment of others for daily bread. A general process, somewhat resembling the old feudal system of "commendation" set in, and the final result of the whole movement has been the extinction of the small independent producer, who passed away as a separate social type, just as the yeoman farmer has passed away.

Finally, our industrial economy settled into its present all but universal form of employer and employed, capitalist and workman. Unfortunately between these two classes the relations have from the very first been strained. To talk generally of a war of Labour against Capital would, of course, be absurd. We might as well talk of a war of Labour against water-power. Capital, as we know, is nothing but the means of undertaking any enterprise, from a line of steamships to a costermonger's barrow.

But the fact nevertheless remains that a

labouring man, standing alone, and without a breakfast for himself or his family, is not in a position to obtain the best terms from a rich employer, who can hold out as long as he likes, or hire other labour on the spot. Hence the origin of the Trade Unions, which are entirely new things in industrial history.

There are those who try to trace a continuity between the modern Union and the Craft Guilds of the Middle Ages. Historical continuity to some extent there may be. But the two institutions are entirely different in spirit. The Craft Guilds of old days were started in the interest of the public and the crafts alike. They were confederations of all engaged in the trade, masters as well as men. They were largely occupied in enforcing regulations which were intended to secure excellence of workmanship. On the other hand the central thought which has dominated the policy of the Trade Union has been that of maintaining the well-being of the workers only. The interest of a class has been put forward as the one thing worth striving for. It is easy, of course,

to stigmatise such a policy as selfish, but such an accusation comes badly from those who advocate unlimited competition, and take "Every man for himself" as the supreme maxim for the economic life. The pursuit of class interests is undoubtedly a narrow aim, but it is at least far wider than that of the man who is seeking only for his own personal enrichment. And whatever evil side there may be to Trade Unionism—and I should be the last to deny that in its history there have been many evil chapters—yet in the pursuit of their class interests Unionists, I am bound to contend, have shown an amount of self-sacrifice which can only be described as heroic. It may be selfish heroism perhaps; but let him that is wholly unselfish first cast a stone at them. At least let us be prepared to point the direction from which a more satisfactory issue to the long industrial conflict may seem likely to be reached.

For my own part, although I have never hesitated, on occasion, publicly to vindicate the position of the Unionist workman, on

the ground that in the present condition of things, Unionism has been to him, in a double sense, a necessity alike for instruction and for advancement, still I do not think that Unionism, based as undoubtedly it is upon the principle of antagonism of interest between employers and employed, is an ideal state of things for a Christian people. And I do believe, that a noble social ideal, a more Christian economic order, does exist somewhere, that God knows it and desires its adoption, and that it is for us to discover it and establish it. Nay, further, I think there are not wanting signs in the social movements of the time, that for the Christian, at any rate, an attitude of expectancy and preparation, born partly of the knowledge of practical experiments now in course of development, and partly of the consciousness of "the rapidity and power with which thoughts of dependence, solidarity and brotherhood, of our debt to the past and our responsibility to the future" is spreading among all classes, is the true attitude.

When I come to speak of "Industrial

Peace," I hope to have something to say about those social facts and experiments which I think do serve to indicate that an essentially Christian issue to the long conflict we have been considering to-day is by no means visionary, may, indeed, be far nearer than any of us suppose, and, at least, is the natural outcome of what has gone before.

For the present let me conclude by briefly emphasising some of the lessons which a consideration of this history of industrial war would seem to force upon us. I think I may formulate them in the following propositions :—

(1.) That the message which God is addressing to our age, the way through which He is offering a fresh vindication of the eternal Gospel, the work, perhaps, which He has especially set to our English Church, is to seek for a Christian solution of the Social and Labour problem, the question of the true relation of man to man and of man to the means of production and employment.

(2.) That this problem of the economics of

industry will never be solved so long as it is regarded as simply a study of Wealth, and not part of the study of Man ; and that, from that point of view, the religious aspect of the question can never be safely ignored.

(3.) That no great social reconstruction ever has been, or ever will be, other than the application of a religious principle, of a moral development, of a strong and active common faith.

(4.) That the only true revolution, in the social and industrial sphere as in the political, is that which is the result of revelation ; that the force of new thought is stronger than the force of arms ; that there can be no safe and lasting change of national condition which is not founded on a previous change of national character ; that, in a word, evolution slow and sure alone is safe, not revolution hasty and unstable.

(5.) That in all labour disputes and conflicts between class and class the prime necessity is frank justice.

(6.) That the first principle of Christian

justice is this, that the loss of one cannot on the whole be the gain of another in the unity of the one life.

(7.) That the first principle of Christian liberty is freedom not to do what one likes, but freedom to do what one ought, and that, therefore, respect for individual rights should never blind us to the higher reverence which is due to social duty.

(8.) That the first principle of Christian equality is not equality of distribution, but equality of consideration, which may be expressed in the maxim that every man is to count for one, and nobody for more than one.

(9.) That the first principle of Christian fraternity is that "we are all one man in Christ," and that no man can say sincerely "Our brothers who are on earth," who has not previously learnt to say, "Our Father which art in Heaven."

(10.) That the competition of trade has been assimilated to the competition of war, and stands condemned by the assimilation.

(11.) That high civilisation is not the destined lot of the few, while the destined lot of the many is to support the few by unremitting joyless toil ; that it is no use any longer quoting or misquoting Scripture to prove that God wills the mass of mankind to be always poor and always dependent on the rich ; that if there is a text in the Bible which says, "The poor ye have with you always," there is also another text which speaks of the time "when there shall be no poor among you."

(12.) That the justification of Trades Unionism is to be found in the justice of the aim that "such as are in need and necessity have right," and that although the rough prosecution of this aim may often be irritating to those who inherit moods of feudal haughtiness, and may even interfere with and disturb the process of making money, yet still the postponement of the interest of an individual to the interest of the class to which he belongs is a nobler, a more Christian thing than the desire to drive a large trade, or to scheme for personal enrichment.

(13.) That on the other hand we must not forget that justice is not always on the weaker side, and that never does organised oppression wear so ugly a look as when it is practised by those who inscribe "Liberty" and "Fraternity" on their banner, and that never does the contemptible cry, "Every man for himself," sound so forbiddingly as when it is uttered by those who have not hesitated to infringe personal liberty and to imperil social order.

(14.) That we ought not to forget that many of the bitterest trade disputes have their origin quite as often in sentimental provocation, as in any substantial grievance; that the men often care a great deal less about the claim they put forward, than for the way in which it is received, or not received, by the masters: that therefore here there is certainly room for the exercise by the masters of two very elementary Christian virtues—humility and sympathy—humility expressed by the thought—"What have we that we have not received"; sympathy expressed by the thought—"Let us put ourselves in their place."

(15.) That for both masters and men, if industrial war is to give place to industrial peace, all work must ultimately rest upon faith, must be the active expression in the terms of our present English life of the articles of our creed, must be the practical realisation, through the social service of comrades and brothers, of the Christian daily prayer to God as a Father —“Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done . . on earth.”

Let me add but one more lesson.

In the “Vision of Piers the Plowman,” that poem, which grew out of the very heart of the English Peasant Revolt of the fourteenth century, of which I have spoken, in which William Langland, under the guise of the Ploughman, in words which every ploughboy could understand, represents Jesus Christ as the great social Emancipator, occur these lines, of which I think you will appreciate, notwithstanding the ruggedness of the old English alliterative verse, the extraordinary power and depth of religious feeling. They contain a lesson which the nineteenth century need not

be ashamed to learn from the fourteenth.
“Christ,” he says—

“gave each man a grace to guide himself with
That idleness encumber him not, envy nor pride.
And some He learned craft, and cunning of sight :
With selling and buying their livelihood to gain :
And some He learned to labour, a loyal life and a true :
And some He taught to till, to ditch, and to thatch :
And all He learned to be loyal, and each craft love other :
Look that none blame other, but love as brethren,
And who that most mastery can, be mildest of bearing
And crown conscience king, and make craft your steward.
For our joy and our health, Jesus Christ of Heaven
In poor man’s apparel pursueth us ever.
For all we are Christ’s creatures, and of His coffer rich,
And brethren as of one blood, as well beggars as earls.”

This surely, my friends, is a noble conception ! “Jesus Christ of Heaven in poor man’s apparel pursueth us ever !” Do we fly from the thought ? We, quite as much as William Langland, live in times in which history is being made. How shall we help to make it aright ? We, like Peterkin the Plowman, live in an age which, no less than his, bids fair to be one of great social upheaval. How are we

prepared to face it? What to us is the meaning and the suggestion of this ever-strengthening voice of the people, this upward movement of the popular classes?

God grant we may be ready to welcome their demand to take part in the work of the nation, as did the Church of Langland and the poor priests of Wycliffe, when she learned, after the social revolution of the fourteenth century, to build up, by means of the old English spirit of individual freedom and social fidelity, a new and a higher order of civilisation. The social emancipation of England is not yet complete. Her people, too many of them, inheritors though they be of hard-won ancient rights and possessors of still wider liberties in the present, have yet to win their victory over social tyrants and oppressors quite as malignant and terrible as any of those of the Middle Ages—Ignorance, Disease, Drunkenness, Social Impurity, Pauperism, Crime. For my own part, I have no doubt the victories will be won. I have faith in the ancient and inbred integrity and piety of the English people. And still more I have

faith in Christ, the King of England. "Jesus Christ of Heaven in poor man's apparel pursueth us ever !"

"I will not cease from mental strife,
Nor shall my sword sleep in mine hand,
Until we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land."

INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

“Jesus said, ‘Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shall be called sons of God!’ but when one out of the multitude said unto Him, ‘Master! bid my brother divide the inheritance with me’; Jesus said, ‘Man, who made me a judge and a divider over you?’”—ST. MATT. v. 9; ST. LUKE xii. 14.

“If you could only see two of my peasants, David and Ivan, and the way they and their families live. I am convinced that one glance at these two unfortunates would do more to persuade you than all that I can tell in justification of my resolve. Is not my obligation sacred and clear, to labour for the welfare of those seven hundred human beings for whom I must be responsible to God? Would it not be a sin to leave them to the mercy of harsh elders and overseers, so as to carry out for myself pæans of enjoyment and ambition? And why should I seek in any other sphere the opportunity of being useful and doing good, when such a noble, brilliant, and paramount duty lies right at hand?”

COUNT TOLSTOI.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE.

HOW shall we reconcile these two words of Jesus? Do they not seem to contradict one another? Can it be possible that they convict the great Master of practical inconsistency?

“Happy are they”—He says, at one moment —“blessed are they who set themselves to bring those who are at variance to agreement. Peace-making is a God-like task!” And then on the occurrence of one of the first opportunities, in the business of ordinary life, of giving practical effect to His teaching, He renounces the office of peace-maker, declines to arbitrate, refuses to give the decision which would have doubtless ensured a settlement of the dispute.

How shall we explain the difficulty? Once

more, I must ask you to remember what was the method of Christ's teaching. The Sermon on the Mount, from one point of view, may be said to contain the New Law of the Christian Commonwealth. The great features of that commonwealth, the character and influence of its citizens, the inner principle of its legislation, are set forth in that document. And yet after all I think our investigation, during this course of sermons, of several of the leading features of Christ's legislation as recorded in that document must force us to recognise that what Christ undertook to do for His society, was not to give it a code of legislation, but to inspire every loyal member of it with the power of making laws for himself. Now, Christ's practical action, I contend, was always consistent with that method. Whenever, therefore, we find Him, as in this instance of the disputed inheritance, or in the somewhat similar instances of the paying of the didrachma, or of the dilemma about the tribute money to Cæsar, or the case of the woman taken in adultery, asked to take up the position

of a Judge, I think we must be conscious that Christ is uniformly careful to avoid such a decision as would, of necessity, have established an authoritative precedent.

It would seem, indeed, as if our blessed Lord, knowing how any decision of His would practically operate as an injunction binding on all Christians in all ages, especially wished to save men from being hampered in this way, and desired to leave them to the free play of their own consciences. Such at least seems to have been His action in the case before us. Had He listened to the probably *ex parte* statement of the plaintiff in this suit, reviewed his case and given a judgment, He might have added a clause to the law of inheritance which the code of every Christian State throughout the ages would have been bound to embody, and which might have landed the lawyers of the future in endless perplexity. But this Christ resolutely refused to do. With a look and a word He lifted the whole question into an atmosphere where the miserly spirit of one brother, and the greediness of the other

appeared equally contemptible. "Beware!" He said, "of covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." Let a man understand that brotherhood and not wealth is the true basis of society, that if you would make society good you must first make men good, and that not what a man has got, but what a man is, is the important thing; then there will not be much difficulty left in settling mere questions of property and inheritance.

Now that must be the moral of this action of Christ. "Beware of covetousness, of money-grubbing. Cultivate the spirit of comradeship and brotherhood." That, I have no doubt, is the first lesson which we are intended to learn. But I am not sure that the second lesson is necessarily this:—

"If you are a parson do not degrade your sacred office by meddling with matters which, from the nature of your training, you cannot understand, as, for example, the fundamental laws which govern industry and commerce, much less by thinking that your intervention

in a labour dispute is likely to be a useful influence, or calculated to recommend conciliatory courses."

I am not unaware that there is very high authority for such an interpretation. The late Archbishop of this province, in almost the last address which he delivered in public, took the opportunity of rebuking those of his clerical brethren who thought they could usefully exercise a mediatory office in the settlement of labour disputes. He, no doubt, spoke as a man of practical common sense. "Let the cobbler stick to his last and the bishop to his bench," was very much the burden of his advice. There were those at the time who thought that there was more than an allusion, in Archbishop Magee's words, to the action of the new Bishop of Durham, who shortly before in his presidential address to the Church Congress at Hull, in somewhat socialistic terms, had drawn a picture of an ideal bishop, as a mediator between classes and peace-maker in the conflicts of industrial war.

There were not wanting, of course, newspaper critics to emphasise the Bishop's position. It was easy, of course, to sneer at such an ideal as "amiable, well-intentioned, unpractical, visionary." But Bishop Westcott has had his revenge. Where the practical hard-headed men of business have utterly failed, the amiable idealist has triumphed. Two months ago, you will remember, the great Northern coal strike was in full progress. Industry was for the moment paralysed. Men and women were on the point of starvation. All the ordinary efforts at mediation had been exhausted. Suddenly Bishop Westcott intervenes, invites the leading combatants to Auckland Castle, conducts a friendly conference round his study table—and there is peace. Being only a bishop, I suppose, he is presumed to know nothing about coal-mines, still less about sliding scales and market prices, and the hundred other things upon which the settlement of such a dispute must depend. I daresay the Bishop knew a great deal more about those details than his critics were likely

to give him credit for, but at any rate he succeeded in building the golden bridge, and he succeeded, no doubt, because he had qualities which are all important for the just settlement of a quarrel, and which are sometimes wanting to the industrial expert—a strong sense of equity and justice, a burning desire for peace, a keen compassion for human suffering, and absolutely disinterested motives.

But although I think that the recent action of the Bishop of Durham in connection with the Northern coal strike, and the similar efforts of the late Cardinal Manning a year or two ago, to bring to an end the Dock Strike in London, are entirely justifiable, and are evidence of a very true and a very noble conception of the Christian pastoral, and especially, perhaps, episcopal, office, I should not like you to suppose that I was foolish enough to contend that it was the duty of every minister of Christ to seek to interfere in all the trade disputes of his parish or town, to force his judgment upon his fellow-citizens at crises of financial divergence, or to express uninvited opinions on the

justice of claims which, to say the least, have a nomenclature of their own, and involve almost as much special knowledge as the interpretation of an ecclesiastical rubric.

Let me read to you some very shrewd and weighty words, which were uttered the other day by the Archbishop of Canterbury, which express, I think, all that I should wish now to say on this subject.

“They had been told,” he said, “that the clergy should preach great principles, and not to meddle with details. That was wise, but they had also earnestly been entreated to preach the principles upon which the conditions, combinations, conciliations, unities and harmonies of the future were to be based; but how could they do that if they did not understand the subject with which they were dealing? If they were to utter and enforce with anything like spirit, confidence, courage, effectiveness, those maxims which they had been told they must deduce from principles, they must understand the underlying principles; they must master them, they must know what

the subject was to which their maxims were to be applied, unless they were to preach dry maxims and fail. . . . They might depend upon this, if they did not understand the subject they would interfere. If they told them not to interfere with details in matters which they did not understand, they might as well speak to the winds. People would perpetually and constantly interfere in matters that they did not understand. *The matters that they did not interfere with were matters which they did understand.* . . . Let them hold their hand from detail, but let them try to understand these great subjects, or else their brothers of the laity must hold them cheap in most things which they had to care about in their daily life. But let them not begin by saying their sympathies were all with the poor starved capitalist, or their sympathies were all with the poor ground workman. They must say their sympathies were with the right, and they must try to do justice as far as they could to both sides.” *

* Canterbury Diocesan Conference.

It would be possible, no doubt, to add some thing to these words of the Archbishop with regard to the intervention of the clergy as mediators between conflicting interests. For it must not be forgotten that labour troubles depend not only upon the operation of great economic and industrial laws, but upon the social conditions of the daily life of labouring men and women, and that concerning those conditions, which actually form part of the questions in dispute very often, there is probably no class of men in the country who are more pre-eminently qualified to express judgment than the parish clergy.

But I will not pursue that subject further. I have already published elsewhere all that I wish to say on that point. Let me return to what appears to me to be a practical and possible reform, suggested by the success of the Bishop of Durham's voluntary court of arbitration.

Conciliation in labour disputes is no doubt better late than never. But, my friends, how enormously better it would be soon than late !

Can we do nothing, you and I, to bring about that better state of things?

Is it not at least our duty as Christian citizens, if we have been ready to welcome and applaud the "Bishop's peace," at Durham the other day, to do all we can to create such a public opinion in our community as shall make the establishment of Courts of Conciliation and Boards of Arbitration possible? Some of you will perhaps remember that an attempt was made some months ago to establish such a voluntary court in our own city. In the great town's-meeting that was held to inaugurate it, under the presidency of our chief magistrate, one of the leading members of her Majesty's Government expressed his "hope that not many years would pass away before these Boards of Conciliation and Arbitration would be established under national sanction in every district of the United Kingdom." The subsequent dismissal of the meeting, broken into disorderly fragments by the outbreak of miserable class jealousies and contemptible accusations of a desire to take unfair advantages,

must have come as a very bitter disappointment to its projectors, and certainly furnished to outsiders a very convincing proof of how much need there must be in Liverpool for some such agency of conciliation.

For myself, I confess, if only I possessed power or influence with those who should be our leaders in this matter, I would entreat them to let no opportunity pass of seeking to wipe away this reproach to our civic wisdom; nay, I do not hesitate to call it, this disgrace to our common Christianity.

Of more sweeping and heroic remedies for our social distress—such schemes, for example, as the nationalisation of land, or the nationalisation of capital—I need here hardly speak. They are schemes that, from my point of view at least, would be accompanied “with an evolution of chaos” in volume sufficient to rejoice the very heart of Milton’s “Anarch old,” and can therefore receive no sympathy from a Christian teacher. But short of such drastic socialistic remedies as these, there are still resources of our present

civilisation which we have certainly not exhausted. There are those who tell us, for example, that there are only two things really necessary for the solution of the social problem—the adoption of a system of what is called Profit-sharing or Industrial Partnership, and the extension of Co-operative Industry.

For the first scheme, as a form of conciliatory effort on the part of the employing class to increase the remuneration of labour, I believe there is much to be said, notwithstanding the opinion of Mr. John Burns that “profit-sharing is nothing less than a delusive bait on the part of capitalists to goad the worker on to greater intensity of toil.” At any rate if I were myself an employer I should feel bound to inform myself carefully as to the experience of those who have made efforts to adopt this system. There is little difficulty in finding the records of such experiments. Those of you who care to do so will find a long list of books and pamphlets on the subject in a little book called “The Co-operative Life,” published by the Educational Council of the Co-operative Union.

You can procure it, I am sure, from any bookseller,

As to the system of Co-operation itself—although I believe there are still foolish people to be found who are apt to confuse it with the organisation of what are called Civil Service Stores (a mere device, as it appears to me of the comparatively well-to-do classes to put into their own pockets the legitimate profits of the tradesman) or, at the best, to think of it as a system for converting the workman into a superior sort of grocer—I think no one who has given any thought to the social history of his country, or who has read, for example, such a book as Mr. Holyoake's "History of Co-operation"—a book, by the way, as witty as it is wise, and as full of interest as any novel—and who remembers that for fifty years at least the co-operative system has had the support of the most eminent thinkers of our country—Robert Owen, J. Stuart Mill, Cairnes, Frederick Maurice, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Hughes, Henry Fawcett, Thornton, Bishop Lightfoot, Bishop Moorhouse, Bishop Westcott—can doubt that

it must contain some promise for the industrial future of our race.

For myself I am quite convinced that in this direction at any rate lies the ultimate solution of the industrial problem. Indeed, I do not hesitate to adopt as my own the uncompromising language in which the Bishop of Durham addressed the other day the Tyneside co-operators. "Viewed," he said, "in the light of the facts which I hold to be the central facts in history (the incarnation and resurrection of Jesus Christ), I recognise in Co-operation an inherent tendency to complete man, to guard the family, to unite the state, to harmonise nations. It is, as I regard it—and you will allow me to speak out of my whole heart—man's spontaneous welcome given to the promises of God. It is a proof on the scene of our working world that the Gospel is not an illusion, but an ideal brought into the homes of men. It is—may I not say it?—a special call for England England led the way in the industrial evolution of modern Europe by free and self-determined energy

and will. It is then for England to overthrow the secondary evils which have arisen in this period of transition by a fresh exertion of the same national characteristics." *

And what then stops the way, do you ask, to this land of Utopia? I can only answer—Mountains of difficulty, moral difficulties for the most part, faults of character and of will, failure of moral courage and purpose, want of faith. Ah, my friends, when one reflects as to what the average of mankind is to-day, what our species, self-regarding by its very essence, is at best; what our actual society, after nineteen centuries of Christianity, is at this latest hour of its development, with its egoism intensified by the ethics of the market and of industry; when one considers the moral tone of society, its real working code of morality, its low theory of life, its false valuation of the things good and evil in life, its lost ideal of heroism, its relaxed standard of honour, its forgotten notions of duty; above all, when we

* Bishop of Durham, Address at the Co-operative Exhibition, Tynemouth, Sept. 3rd, 1890.

bring ourselves to confess honestly that religious belief, the last reserve force against the pressure of self-interest, has, in relation to business life, with so many of us practically broken down, one may be pardoned if one finds it difficult to be over-sanguine for the future of society.

And yet if we be Christians we must not lose heart. The mountains of difficulty are there. We cannot deny it. They do block the way to the promised land. But we walk by faith, not sight. It was a saying of the great Napoleon, looking out on the neighbouring country of Spain, "There are no more Pyrenees!" The power of the human will, the vaulting ambition of one man, was—so he thought—sufficient to remove this greatest of natural boundaries. My friends, do we forget the promise of Him who said that by faith we too should remove mountains? Mountains of difficulty, mountains of misunderstanding, mountains of prejudice, will vanish before the courage which despises difficulty, before the insight which sees into the heart of stone.

Ah yes! faith is like that fabled sword, of which one reads in the song of Roland, by which the renowned Paladin cleft a way for his army through those same Pyrenees mountains to the open land beyond. Such a breach of Roland, doubt it not, will one day be made, by a keener blade than Durandel, through the mountain walls of custom and convention and prejudice, into that promised land of Industrial peace—

“ Where wealth no more shall rest in mounded heaps,
But, smit with freer light, shall slowly melt
In many streams to fatten lower lands,
And light shall spread . . . and then shall all men’s good
Be each man’s rule, and universal Peace
Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
Thro’ all the circle of the golden year.”

But, my friends, do not let us forget that that Golden Year can only be won for the race by the daily victories of the individual. Personal life—your life and mine—is after all the battle-ground upon which the progress of the race must be decided. The fulness of organised social life can only gain

elements of richness and diversity from the free play of individuality. Character after all is the greatest of social and industrial forces. And character, for the Christian, means communion with the spirit of Christ.

Let that only be our starting-point, and I have no fear but that we shall come to see that there can be no plan of progress which has not the incarnation of Christ for its guiding star; no age which cannot make the prayer of the fifth century its own, a prayer with which I may fitly close this course of sermons,—“O God of unchangeable power and eternal light, look favourably on thy whole Church, that wonderful and sacred mystery, and by the tranquil operation of thy perpetual providence, carry out the work of man’s salvation; and let the whole world feel and see that things which were cast down are being raised up, and things which had grown old are being made new, and all things are returning to perfection through Him from whom they took their origin, even through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.”

THE CHURCH AND LABOUR
MOVEMENTS.

(Read before the Church Congress at Hull, in 1899.)

“Look here, we are not going to work for nothing, to risk our lives every day for starvation wages, lest we should fail to find a text to support us in the gospel according to John Stuart Mill and Adam Smith. They unfold maxims and lay down rules which don't apply. Our principle is a sound one—of that I am sure. We are placing a check upon competition ; we are interposing an obstacle in the way of reckless underselling—all that, but no more than that. Twenty men want to sell the same article ; we refuse to produce it at less than a given sum. They can't compete with each other by cutting down our producing price, and so reducing their selling price ; and, while we don't pretend that that will stop competition, we do say that it has stopped proprietors competing with each other at our expense.”

MR. SAM WOODS, *M.P. for Ince.*

THE CHURCH AND LABOUR MOVEMENTS.

WHEN we are told, on so good an authority as that of Mr. John Burns, that in the last year there have been two thousand strikes, of which the men, at the most, lost only thirty, and that in twenty months, up to date, one hundred and seventeen new Trade Unions have been formed, I think it is very evident that the ethics of what is called the New Unionism and of labour disputes, promise in the future to become a very interesting study indeed. But, with only fifteen minutes in which to speak, I think it will be best, as a supporter of the old-fashioned Trades Unionism for a good many years, that I should confine myself to such points as are suggested by my own personal experience.

I learnt my first lesson in the ethics of Unionism in this diocese twenty-two years ago. Ten days after my ordination as curate of St. Mary's, Sheffield, a parish at that time of twenty thousand people, mostly knife-grinders, file-cutters, and so forth, I was taking a night-school class of young men. I had heard that some of the members of my class had taken part in a trade outrage, only a night or two before. The driving-strap of a grinding wheel, belonging to a man who refused to join the Union, had been found cut. I somehow got to talk to the young fellows about it. I have no doubt I used the usual arguments about the sacredness of individual liberty, and the right of every Englishman to make, if he so pleases, his own separate bargain for his own labour, and so on. I am afraid I did not make much impression, for I remember I turned from argument to sentiment and exclaimed indignantly against the unmanliness of cutting a fellow-workman's strap, and thus robbing him, to say the least, of the profit of several hours' work. Where-

upon one young Yorkshireman burst out :
 "Unmonly ! What dost a' mean ? We wants
 to make 'im a mon."

Now, I venture to think that this is a point of view with which, as parsons and Churchmen, we ought to have some sympathy. From the point of view of a political economist, at any rate of a political economist of the old-fashioned Manchester school of competition and its devil-take-the-hindmost theory of industrial organisation, I grant there is much to be said for the sacredness of individual liberty and for freedom of contract ; but from the point of view of Christian ethics, and its economic maxim, "Let no man seek his own, but each his neighbour's wealth," is there not a good deal also to be said for that spirit of loyalty to his class and subordination of individual to social duty, which certainly is implied in such a speech as that of my young Sheffield knife-grinder ?

We are right enough, no doubt, in denouncing the Trade Unionist, when he resorts to the weapon of violence and intimidation to compel

the man whom he calls "scab," "blackleg," or "scallawag," to fall into line with his fellows, but do not let us forget that all Trade Unionists do not use violence and intimidation; that violence is not of the essence of the movement, and that class loyalty and self-denial for the sake of social duty is; and perhaps, also, we ought sometimes to remember that in the immature days gone by, when some of us also were at school, our ethical code was so incomplete that we treated with a good deal of social intolerance the "smugs," and the "swats," and the "mopes," who would not sacrifice individual liberty to *esprit de corps*, and that for the good of the school we used no little intimidation sometimes to get a good muster of these traitors to school tradition at the cricket practice or in the football field. They have been the better men since, and I am not sure that it will not be the same with the "blacklegs" and the "scallawags."

At any rate, when I hear during the progress of a strike of the boycotting of non-Unionists, I cannot help remembering that the labourer is

looking at the matter from a very different point of view to that of the employer; that motives connected with the collective pursuit of important aims, and not merely with individual action, are becoming of increasing concern every day, and that in the last resort, at any rate in all these labour disputes, to the workman the question is not about wealth, but about men.

My second lesson in labour ethics I learnt when, two years later, I exchanged town life for that of a country parson. I had not been many months vicar of a Buckinghamshire parish, when we had a visit from Mr. Joseph Arch, and found ourselves in the thick of the Agricultural Labourers' agitation of 1872. It is nearly twenty years ago now, but I have never ceased to regret the attitude taken up for the most part by the country clergy towards that movement.

The position was no doubt a very difficult one. How to keep the Church sacred as the home where all classes of parishioners could meet as brethren, but not to appear to

take sides with farmer against labourer, or labourer against farmer, and yet to express sympathy with the professed object, at any rate, of a movement which was evidently so much needed for the social elevation of the labourer, was the problem to be solved. Personally I found it insoluble, or, rather, it solved itself; *solvitur ambulando*. I sympathised with the labourer, and the farmer said that meant taking sides against him. I could not be angry with him—we became good friends again after a bit—for how could one wonder at his thinking that it was wicked for the parson to acknowledge that combination for labour purposes was legitimate? The Act of Parliament, granting to workmen the legal right to combine had only then been on the statute-book a few months. The Trades Union Act was only passed in 1871.

Now, the lesson, I think, we ought to learn from that agitation—I am afraid I did not learn it myself—is this. It was pithily expressed the other day by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in summing up a discussion on

the subject at his own diocesan conference. "Do not interfere in labour disputes, but understand them. Understand them, and you will be under no temptation to interfere."

The country clergy are likely, I see, in a short time to have the opportunity of putting the Archbishop's advice into practice. I daresay you would notice at the Trades Union Congress the other day a resolution was passed, on the motion of Mr. Ben Tillett (whose absence from our counsels to-day I for one greatly regret), recognising the duty of all trade councils to organise the agricultural labourers, on the ground that "a large proportion of the black-legs come from the rural districts, owing to bad pay and disorganisation."

Now, I do trust that if we are to have in our rural districts a revival of the labour agitation of 1873 we shall not see the country clergy taking up the attitude of seventeen years ago. If they really would act in the spirit of the Archbishop's advice of non-interference in labour disputes, let them do all they can in the first place to understand the labour ques-

tion. Let them study the question as the Archbishop advises them, "in a few hand-books of Economics followed up by more solid reading."

If we will only study the question in an all-round fashion, I am sure we shall come to see, if we have not already done so, that the key to the solution of most of the social problems in our great towns in reality lies in the country; that there are few of these problems whose solution is not largely dependent upon such a revision of the English land system as shall permanently raise the social and economic condition of the English rural labourer, and that finally this elevation can only be effected by the thorough organisation of agricultural labour, and its federation with both the skilled and unskilled labour of our towns.

Lastly, may I say before I sit down how important it is that as Churchmen we should recognise our duty with regard to the organisation of women's labour? In our large towns that is becoming a most vital question. I suppose most of the members of this Congress

have read that valuable book on East London Life and Labour by Mr. Charles Booth. The exhaustive enquiries of which that book is a record go to show how hopeless it is to cope with the deplorable evils of the sweating system in the present disorganised condition of women's labour.

In London a noble attempt to grapple with the difficulty of forming Women's Unions was made by Mrs. Patterson as far back as 1874—I am proud to think that I was present at her first meeting—and of late the movement has been further consolidated. Any members of the Congress who are desirous of helping in this work should write to the Secretary of the Women's Trades Union League, at the Industrial Hall, Broad Street. In Liverpool we have lately started a similar organisation, and we have already had the satisfaction of seeing one of our children, the Liverpool Tailoresses' Union, organise its first strike against the sweaters, and win the day.

At a meeting of the committee at which I was present, last Tuesday night, with a view

to further organise Unions of laundresses, bag-makers, rag-sorters, and rope-girls, one of the women delegates from the tailoresses, hearing that I was to speak on this subject to the Congress to-night, begged me to urge upon everyone who has any influence with the Government the supreme necessity of insisting upon the efficient administration of the Factory Acts in relation to workshop female labour. The inspection at present is a mere farce. What can one inspector do in Liverpool to see that the regulations of the Act are properly enforced? As a matter of fact the time-regulations are daily set at nought, not only in the sweating dens, but in many of the workrooms of the so-called tradesmen of the city.

Now, I venture to say, knowing as we do how much of the social degradation of women is traceable to the evils of their economic condition, that it is the bounden duty both of the clergy and of the Christian laity to help in starting, organising, and consolidating these Women's Unions. A representative committee of organisation should at least be formed in

every large town. And remember there is much preliminary work that often needs doing before the actual trade society can be formed. In many cases the women need much training before they can grasp the idea of combination. The members of the different trades need to be gathered together in social clubs, where they may learn to know and trust one another, and gradually build up those social virtues of self-reliance, discipline, loyalty, and trustfulness upon which the subsequent stability of their trade society will largely rest. In this preliminary work there is room for all of us, and not least, I think, for those ladies of leisure, for whom at present too often the terrible truth is that in the skirts of their clothing is found the blood of the souls of God's people—"women who carelessly wear fine clothes without having enquired into the possible cost in a sister's shame or death . . . and who forget that some cheap things are too dear for human use."

THE CHURCH IN THE VILLAGES.

(Read before the Christian Social Union, in the Chapter House of St. Paul's, under the chairmanship of Canon Scott Holland, on Nov. 29th, 1892.)

THE CHURCH IN THE VILLAGES.

I HAVE been asked to speak to you this afternoon on the "Church in the Villages." Had your secretary's invitation to do so reached me a week or two earlier than it did, I am inclined to think I should have asked leave to decline the task. For to speak of Church life in the country villages with any degree of effectiveness, one ought surely to be in very close touch with rural life and its present conditions, and it is very nearly five years since I ceased to be a country parson.

But it so happened that his invitation arrived at a moment when the importance of these rural problems, to which in old days I had given some considerable attention, was brought home to me very keenly, and indeed had left me with some misgiving as to whether

in exchanging country for town life I had not been in some sense a deserter of my old village friends. I had only just returned from a short visit to Buckinghamshire, where for thirteen years I had worked as a country parson. Two chance incidents of that visit had touched me very deeply.

It happened that on the same day I paid visits to two old friends. They were both of them men over ninety years of age.

The first friend was one of the largest and most influential landowners in the home counties, a man of wide and rich experience of life in many lands, the friend of leading statesmen and philanthropists, not only in our own country, but on the Continent and in America, a member of Parliament for more than fifty years, associated with the passing of every measure which had been enacted for the social welfare of England; the personal friend and supporter of William Wilberforce and the Abolition of the Slave Trade; of Lord Shaftesbury and the Factory Acts; of Mr. Forster and the Education Act; of Mr. Gladstone and the

Enfranchisement of the Rural Labourer; a model squire, caring for his people, farmers and cottagers, with a loving and fatherly solicitude; a thoroughly just and righteous man; a fervent and humble Christian; a good man in the old Roman sense of the word, “*commune bonus*,” good, that is to say, not only for himself, but good with a goodness serviceable to the commonwealth. At the age of ninety-one I found him just returned from a ride round his estate, keen about the purchase of a new horse for himself—“An old man,” he said, “should not ride an old horse”—but keener still to tell me all about the plans for his last new cottages, and the lately apportioned allotment grounds, and the co-operative club, and the experiment in farming on the industrial partnership principle, and Miss Nightingale’s new scheme for village training in the laws of health, and other plans of the Technical Committee of the County Council, and the museum which he hoped to see established at Aylesbury illustrative of both the historical and industrial conditions of

the county, and Sir Edward Watkin's new railway from London to Birmingham, which at last was to realise the fifty years ago dream of his friend George Stephenson, of which the then Duke of Buckingham had said to the young squire, "You mark my words, Sir Harry, this railway is only a branch of the Birmingham Political Union"—but keenest of all I found him, when with the privilege, as he said, of an old man, he pressed upon me as the result of his long experience the transcendent importance of religion in the training of national character. "Far, far more important is it," he said, "than all these good schemes for technical training and material comfort, that our farmers and labourers should be taught to be pious, God-fearing men. Piety! piety! that is the secret of national happiness."

My second friend was quite at the other end of the social scale. He was an agricultural labourer, ending his days in the Winslow workhouse. He too was in his ninety-first year. It had been a great grief to my wife

and myself to be told where we should find him. But he had outlived his children, and such grandchildren as he had were unable to maintain him. He had been offered a home with some friends in his old village, but he preferred, as he termed it, "to be independent" and to go into the workhouse. At ninety-one I suppose he was not too proud to accept his State pension.

We found him sitting over the fire in an out-house, clean and whitewashed, but bare and cold and very unhomelike. The almost blind eyes of the old man were full of tears as he greeted me, and the grasp of his hand was very pleasant, but still more beautiful I think was it, when he realised that my wife was with me, to see the affectionate gallantry with which he bent over her hand and kissed it. But he, too, was one of Nature's gentlemen, of Christ's gentlemen. For a dozen years or more in our little village church had he knelt with "the kneeling hamlet" and received at my hands "the chalice of the grapes of God." No man had been a more attentive or more

devout worshipper. For more than fifty years he had lived in the same cottage, worked on the same farm, reared and trained in steadiness and respectability a family on wages which never, I imagine, exceeded 12s. a week. Think of the long years of that man's work—seed-time and harvest, summer and winter—through eighty years at least of ceaseless toil :

“ Oft did the harvest to his sickle yield,
His furrow oft the stubborn glebe had broke ;
How jocund did he drive his team afield !
How bowed the woods beneath his sturdy stroke ! ”

And yet at the end of it all what was to be the result ?

“ To slave while there was strength—in age the workhouse,
A parish shell at last, and the little bell
Toll'd hastily for a pauper's funeral.”

Not that the dear old man himself regarded the matter in that light in the least. “ Eh, sir ! ” he said, in answer to my question as to whether he was happy and comfortable and how he managed to pass his time—“ Eh, sir ! I just tiggles round the garden a bit, and lives the life of a gentleman.” Perhaps after all he

was right. He *was* living the life of a gentleman, for he too, like the neighbouring squire, had learnt the lesson of his ninety years—"Piety, piety, that is the true secret of happiness."

Well, but, gentlemen, to you and me these incidents are not surely satisfactory. For they exhibit, do they not? to those of us who have eyes to see, both the strength and the weakness of the Church in the Villages. It *is* good, no doubt, that in both country squire and rural labourer such piety should be the product of Church teaching, and similar facts could be multiplied no doubt from the experience of many another country parson. But surely it is not good, nay, I do not hesitate to say it is intolerably, disgracefully bad, that the conditions of village life to-day in England should be such that any Englishman of ninety years, who has lived an honest, honourable, hard-working, godly and pious life should as a quite normal result be ending his days in a workhouse. Indeed, I go farther, and I say that for this evil condition of things the Church of

England is ultimately to blame, is ultimately responsible. Had she done her duty by the labouring men right through the centuries such things could not be. Were she to do her duty with the plenitude of her opportunity and strength to-morrow such things could not last a year. And by the Church of England, I mean, as far as village life and its problems are concerned primarily, the bishop, the squire, and the parson; for these, hitherto, have been the only educated factors of rural civilisation.

I shall begin and end with the parson, for it is best to talk only of what one knows.

A brilliant writer whose witty criticisms of "Village Life in Modern Arcady" we have all read, has lately been good enough to tell us that the English country parson is but a poor stick at best. Village life, he says, is dull and narrow, and even an educated man buried in a dull and narrow sphere himself tends to become dull and narrow. Dr. Jessopp speaks somewhat as an observer from the inside. He has himself in his later years become a country parson. But observation

from the outside also tends, I fear, not seldom in the same direction. I was talking not long ago to one of our leading colonial judges, the Chancellor of an Australian University, who had been lately travelling with observant eyes through a good many of our midland and home counties. "I am astonished," he said, "at the waste of power I see in your country villages; men of high degree and academic culture rusting out their lives, even if they are not degenerating into mere village gossip-mongers."

I am afraid there is some truth in this accusation.

Of course, no one can deny—the commissioner of the *Daily News* in his vigorous and most telling series of articles last year on "Life in our Villages," does not attempt to deny—the immense influence, and I think we are justified in saying the increasing influence for good exercised by the English clergyman—the one resident educated gentleman in every village of whom we hear so much—but it is well perhaps to recognise that the parochial system,

as we see it to-day in the rural districts, has its disadvantages—at any rate for the parson.

For example, how often surely has one seen the quiet country living, which was to have given so many opportunities for theological study and original research, become merely the grave of an early academic reputation ! The number of those men is, in fact, very small who can be trusted to set themselves to useful intellectual work, and to stick to it without outside pressure.

Again, I wish I did not think that the smallness of many a village cure, which, in the first instance, has been welcomed as giving opportunity for that close personal knowledge of individual character, “the husbandry of single souls,” from which the deepest spiritual results are best developed, had not too often rather seemed to furnish scope only for the veriest village tittle-tattle and the pettiest details of personal gossip. House-to-house visitation has its merits, no doubt, and a house-going parson, as it is said, makes a

church-going people. But, not to mention that there are some things in the Christian life more important than church-going, one could wish that people should have somewhat better reasons for even that social virtue than a polite desire to return the parson's call.

Two things appear to me to be wanted by way of counteracting this disadvantage of the clerical position in country districts.

1. The expansion of the country parson's ideal of work.

2. The expansion of the area of his work by the grouping of parishes.

Take the second point first.

Was the passing of the Pluralities Act altogether a gain? It was a gain, no doubt, to get rid of the pluralist incumbent who pocketed the income of three or four livings and did the work efficiently of not one. But are there not probably many cases in the country when the grouping of several adjacent parishes together under one vicar would not only stimulate greatly clerical energy, but add also very much to the efficiency of Church work?

I shall make my point clearer if I take an illustration. You will forgive me, I am sure, if it is a personal one. Five years ago I was the vicar of three united large coast parishes in South Devon. There are many country parishes, of course, with a larger population, but there are few parishes in England, I should think, where the population is scattered over a wider area. The parish is seven miles long by five broad, in actual acreage covering about twenty square miles. There is a population of nearly three thousand scattered over this area, in eighteen villages, ranging in numbers from seventy to four hundred. We had three parish churches, the distance between them being respectively four, three, and two-and-a-half miles, one mission chapel, four schools (by the way, as there are three civil parishes in the one ecclesiastical we had three School Boards), five cottage reading-rooms, one parsonage.

Now, the mere enumeration of these figures is sufficient to show that Church work in such a parish must be somewhat unique in character. For example, we had only three churches,

where if the proportion elsewhere usual throughout the country obtained, we should have had, I suppose, at least nine. Similarly, for such a population in most other parts of England, we should have had, instead of only one vicarage house for the whole district, at least nine clergy houses and as many resident clergy.

This fact suggests a question. If we could have an ideal rearrangement of this district, would you give to each of the nine principal villages a church of its own and a parson of its own? In other words, is that one of the results which the present pluralist vicar ought to strive for in the future? I do not think so. I do not consider that the policy of separation and subdivision would be a wise one. I am sure the Church is much more likely to secure a satisfactory man as vicar, and, having secured him, to keep such goodness as he may have wholesome and his energies stimulated under the existing arrangement, with its wide area and its varied interests, and consequent responsibility of securing efficient clerical and lay

help, than if you subdivided the parish and placed half a dozen vicars in charge. Moreover, I am quite sure you will get better men to serve the parish as curates, doing their two or three years of apprenticeship work under a vicar, than you would if you built a vicarage house and a church in each of half a dozen villages and buried a man in each for the term of his natural life.

Now, what is true in this district would be true also, I apprehend, elsewhere. At any rate, I commend to you this thought of the grouping of adjacent parishes as a possible method of stimulating clerical energy and improving the efficiency of Church work in country districts.

The same thing, of course, is true also of the organisation of Church work in the town. There are cases, no doubt, where parochial subdivision is absolutely necessary, and where a vast impulse is given to all good work by such subdivision. But there are other cases where the change is more than doubtful. In my own city of Liverpool we have certainly many ex-

amples of this. We have a large number of parishes of one dead level of poverty, or of straitened circumstances only just removed from poverty, where the vicarage, miserably endowed, is almost the sole representative in the parish of the possibilities of that higher family life, with its message of love, knowledge, health and beauty, which is for the most part a sealed book to the vast majority of the parishioners, whose thoughts all day have been, of necessity, on work, wages, food, sleep, and the shortest way home. I cannot but think that the alternative policy suggested two years ago by the Bishop of this diocese, is a far more wise and statesmanlike one, that, namely, of the adequate endowment of curacies in old parishes, and of insisting that before the creation of a new parish, there should be not only an adequate provision for the maintenance of the clergy, but that a still more important condition should be fulfilled in the existence of that diversity of occupation and class which alone makes possible mutual responsibility and social service, and without which there can be

none of that unity of which a true parish is the outward embodiment.

But I am digressing from my immediate subject.

Secondly, I think we need an expansion of the country parson's ideal of work.

And here, surely, your Society, the Christian Social Union, might do much. You need to convince the majority, I fear, of the rural clergy of the truth of the principles upon which your Society is founded, for at present they take, I do not hesitate to say, far too narrow and restricted a view of the office and function of Christ's Church. Believing as you do, and I suppose as they do nominally, that the great fact of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ is the foundation of all Christian teaching and practice, you have yet, I fear, to convince many of the clergy that the message of the Incarnation is social no less than personal, and that, therefore, the Christian Church must consider and seek to influence with Christian principles every question bearing upon man's welfare, social as well as personal, secular as

well as spiritual. You have yet to convince them of the absolute need of preaching in season and out of season "the Gospel of the Kingdom," the fact that the Church is a real, living society, working not only for the individual salvation of its members, but for the social at-one-ment also of the national body, striving to bring the whole life of the community into touch with Christ, materially, socially, morally, spiritually, binding all into a real Christian unity, "gathering all things into Christ," whether politics or morals, whether art or poetry or science, "whether things which are in heaven or things which are on earth."

Thank God much progress has been made in this direction during the last twenty years, largely owing during the first decade to the teaching of Frederick Maurice and the Cambridge school of Lightfoot and Westcott, and during the last to the new Oxford movement, of which our chairman to-day is so distinguished a leader.

But very much still remains to be done.

For example, how slight comparatively is the touch which the Church has at present on the corporate life, such as it is, of village communities, or on the ethics of the various economic problems which are facing us in rural districts, and which will be more prominent as the resettlement of rural society progresses, and the gradual change from the feudal to the democratic basis of society is completed.

Instances in proof are easily found. Take the economic point of view first.

I suppose those of us who are members of this Union, or who are in sympathy with its principles, and who are old enough to remember the Agricultural Labourers' Agitation, under Joseph Arch, of twenty years ago, have never ceased to deplore the attitude of the Church towards that movement at that time. Why was it, we have asked again and again, that when the most important labour movement of modern times in England was in progress, making possible the revision of conditions which lie at the root of most of the social evils, of town and country alike, which

the Church has so long and so unavailingly deplored, why was it that the country clergy for the most part were undeniably out of sympathy with it? Why was it that the Church did not see that the question of more wages was in reality a moral question, not merely an economic one. Knowing, as the country clergy at any rate could not fail to do, "the total defiance of even savage notions of decency and health" which the prevailing cottage accommodation in most of our villages implied, how could they rest satisfied to wait patiently for the slow action of the so-called natural laws of supply and demand, rather than sympathise with an agency which made that *sine quâ non* of a higher moral condition possible?

Well, but what are we doing to-day to prove that the Church of the present is at least awake to the importance of this rural problem?

It is excellent, no doubt, that under the auspices of this Chapter, one of the most learned and eminent prelates of our Church should be lecturing week by week in the

Metropolitan Cathedral on "the Coming of the Friars," and I suppose of their influence on the social and economic condition of our English towns in the thirteenth century. But surely it would be still more excellent if one of the leading bishops of our Church, focusing the gathered wisdom and experience of the many parish priests of some large agricultural diocese, should be speaking in this great centre of national life, not on "the Coming of the Friars," but on "the Passing of the Peasants," which I venture to think is not only one of the saddest social facts in the modern history of England, but is also the fruitful source of most of the great social evils of the nineteenth century.

I was rejoiced to see in the newspaper reports this week of the meeting at Lambeth, under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to consider "the Duty of the Church to the Aged Poor," the statement made authoritatively that the whole subject is to be considered by a Royal Commission. But why has it been necessary to wait for the action of

the State in this matter? As Mr. Charles Booth and the Bishop of Rochester well pointed out at that meeting, the Church is already in possession of probably all the data that are necessary; "the State Commission will be blind if it does not largely see through the eyes of the Church in this matter, and make use of her almost automatic means of communication, to bring the data to those quarters where they can be immediately of use in seeking a solution of the problem."

Well, I venture to suggest that not only with regard to this question of the Aged Poor, but with regard to the whole rural problem, the bishop of every diocese in England should organise a representative committee of enquiry to consider the social and economic condition of the rural population.

Among the first questions such a committee should set itself to answer, the following in my judgment must take a first place:

1. Does the English State consider that production of food for the people is the primary charge on the land, and with that object in

view does she desire to retain a rural population of workers on the soil?

2. Does the English Church consider that national character is of far greater importance than national wealth, and from that point of view is she prepared to welcome the revival of an English yeoman class as one of the surest means of building up a sturdy, wholesome, religious national character?

And if those two questions are answered in the affirmative, this question must immediately follow.

3. What is the legitimate ideal of the English peasant of the future to be?

Now until we have settled these questions satisfactorily it is evidently idle to go further. What, for example, is the use of all these various and conflicting schemes of the Technical Training Committees of the County Councils up and down the country, if we have not first made up our minds as to the special object of all our training? The peasant proprietor or the small farmer of the future—if we decide that the creation of such a class is to be our

national aim—will need a very different training from that of the wage-earning farm-hand of the present ; for small farming, remember, is practically a lost art in England.

But once more let me return to my text. Consider another point where the Church in the Villages has failed to touch as completely as she ought the civic life of the community.

Within the last decade the rural population has been brought by the State within the pale of the constitution ; we have given the labourers, as we say, “ votes.” What will they do with them ?

Among other things, disestablish the Church of their fathers, perhaps. Well, and what is the Church doing under the circumstances ? One wise thing a good many of the clergy have been trying to do lately—to teach our people something about the history of the Church of their fathers. Good ! But might not we, ought not we, to go a step farther ? In the Litany of our Church we expect the people to join with us in the aspiration—“ O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers

have declared unto us, the noble works that Thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them."

But is this true? What have we done to bring home to the hearts of our labouring parishioners that sense of the sacredness of national life, and the sureness and continuity of our country's story, as part of the design of God, which is in reality one of the truest means of elevating and sustaining what Burke once called "the ancient and inbred integrity and piety of the English people?"

A great modern social philosopher has said, "that the modern workman seems to be pervaded by an anti-historic spirit, leading him to conceive of society as having no ancestors," and further expresses the opinion that this lack of feeling of continuity with the past is the source of much of our present political anarchy and social bewilderment. I think this opinion is true. But if it is, evidently one great need of the present is the creation and the fostering of the true historic spirit. It becomes the duty therefore of every social

teacher, of every clergyman, to take up the study of national history as a source of serious and religious instruction. We must seek to regard it with more reverence as a part of our national piety. We must learn to look, with deeper faith in the divine mission of our country, "to the rock whence we were hewn and the hole of the pit whence we were digged ;" to trace the source of our national freedom, of which we so often boast as our country's noblest possession, and of

" Those laws of England, they
Whose reverend heads with age are grey—
Children of a wiser day—
And whose solemn voice must be
Thine own echo, Liberty ;"

to that God who has determined their appointed times and the bounds of their habitation? In a word we must in some sort seek to idealise our national history in such a way that it shall touch the imagination of the people, and teach them to realise how noble and glorious a privilege it is to be English citizens, and thus learn something, God grant, of the higher blessing

of those who "are called to be Christ's free men" in that kingdom concerning whose citizens it is written—"If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed."

Again, if we are to seek in this way to teach our people to become better citizens by helping them to know something more of the great national heritage which is theirs, ought not we to welcome them more heartily than we have done hitherto when they show the slightest inclination to seek to take an active interest in the affairs of Church or parish? There was a time in the history of the Church of England when she played no unimportant part in the development of popular liberty. Shall it be said that the memory of those early days has entirely departed? It was in the parish vestry of old times that the two great principles of English free institutions—the principle of mutual responsibility and the principle of personal representation—were most surely nourished in the heart of the English citizen. The parish was, in fact, the truest school of politics; for there men learnt, in the active

business of responsible life, those primary lessons in public justice and self-government, in public discussion and social duty, which go to form the character of a capable citizen.

And yet although this is undoubtedly the case, the rural labourer has been suffered to remain in absolute ignorance as to the possession of his right to the parish franchise. In how many rural parishes even now is he aware of the fact, or being aware, does he venture to take advantage of it? I wonder, for example, how many agricultural labourers in England to-day are churchwardens or even sidesmen? But I know a good many farmer and squire churchwardens who are not even communicants. Is then property or baptism the test of membership in Christ's Church?

Surely our rural clergy are responsible to some extent for this. At any rate, of this I am sure, that any clergyman who is earnest and honest in his desire to raise the moral condition of his fellow-countrymen, who desires to forward any true measures for social well-being, for the administration of village

justice, and prevention of wrong-doing, for the safety and security of person and property, for the well-ordering of poor-relief, education, public health ; who would promote the growth of a hearty sympathy between class and class, a right appreciation of the mutual obligations and relations of each, and a cheerful and happy fulfilment of what those obligations and relations bring to each, will recognise that one of the surest methods lies in the revival of the good old English institution of the parish vestry and its foundation on a sound representative and democratic basis.

This is a point to which the Church will do well pointedly to call public attention in connection with the completion of the reform in the system of county government. For the soundness of the political life of the English village no reform is more needed than this.

I know, of course, that it will be said that a council of peasants to administer affairs is an absurdity. But that depends on the peasants. Who, for example, that knows anything of the subject will say that a Swiss Commune is an

incapable body? What we want is to re-establish in England something of the educational and vivifying influence of Swiss communal life. I believe that De Tocqueville was right when he said that village assemblies were to liberty what primary schools were to science. I believe that, properly recognised, the parish vestry or village council would become a truly national school of sound citizenship in England.

For consider again how scandalous in many village communities is the indifference on the part of many of the people to civic affairs, and how utterly selfish and self-interested is the action of too many who do take an interest in such matters.

It was once admirably said to me by a rural workman, "I call that man *a coward* who will let any one else do for him what he can do for himself." In the spirit of those words lies the whole difference between freedom and despotism. Men who will tamely submit to allow others to be set over them to do, or to dictate to them, what their forefathers did for them-

selves by their own energy and self-reliance, do prove themselves to be cowards, and to be wanting in that self-respect which is the first virtue of a free man. It ought to be a matter of honourable pride to every man, who has a spark of intelligence or manliness in him, when he is called upon to take any active part in the public affairs of his parish and in working the institutions of his country. The man who is so selfish that he thinks his own private business so important and engrossing that he can spare no time or trouble for the affairs of his neighbourhood, is in reality guilty of an act of public cowardice. Alike, indeed, by the law of Christianity and by the law of England such a man, habitually setting his own selfishness above his public duty, and his own personal comfort above what is owing to his fellow-men and the State, is deserving of being branded as a public criminal.

It is not, however, by the enforcement of pains and penalties that we should desire to bring home to the citizen a true sense of his public duty, but by a true knowledge of what

the grounds and essence of such obligations are.

And so lastly I come to the direct, didactic, interpretative work of the Church.

But of the ideal of that work it is not necessary for me now to do more than remind you of those objects which the Christian Social Union has most at heart, namely—

1. To claim for the Christian Law the ultimate authority to rule social practice.

2. To study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.

3. To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

In other words, it is for the Church to show how mere personal claims vanish in comparison with the infinite debt whereby we are all bound, each in our measure, to fill up that which is lacking to the completion of the whole. It is for her to do what she

can to change a social organisation which is based on the assumption of individual rights and clashing interests, to one based on the sense of public spirit and social duty. In a word, it is for her to draw men back to those conceptions of the divine action, and the mutual relations of man springing out of that action, which can alone sustain our hopes and guide our steps in the arduous task of social reorganisation which lies before us. And for this work, no motive is more constraining than faith in the great "Advent" doctrine of *the present Kingdom of Christ*, which translated into daily practice means the *potential spirituality of all secular life*.

LIST OF RECOMMENDED BOOKS

ON

ECONOMICS AND CHRISTIAN SOCIOLOGY.

- Social Morality. F. D. Maurice.
 The Positive Polity. Auguste Comte.
 The Incarnation, a Revelation of Human Duties. Bishop Westcott.
 The Social Aspects of Christianity. Bishop Westcott.
 Christus Consummator. Bishop Westcott.
 The Social Teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. Charles Gore. (*Economic Review*).
 Politics and Economics. W. Cunningham, D.D.
 English Industry and Commerce. W. Cunningham, D.D.
 Christian Opinion on Usury. W. Cunningham, D.D.
 Ethics of Money Investments. (*Economic Review*.) W. Cunningham, D.D.
 City Opinion on Banking, XIV. XV. Centuries. (*Journal of Institute of Bankers*, 1887.) W. Cunningham, D.D.
 Christian Economics. Wilfred Richmond.
 Economic History. W. J. Ashley.
 History of Political Economy. J. K. Ingram.
 Principles of Economics. Alfred Marshall.
 Social Statics. Herbert Spencer.
 Study of Sociology. Herbert Spencer.
 Christian Socialism. M. Kaufmann.
 Socialism : Its Nature and Danger and Remedies. M. Kaufmann.
 Utopias. M. Kaufmann.
 Civilisation and Progress. J. B. Crozier.
 The Physiology of Industry. Mummery and Hobson.
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The Social Problem. Professor William Graham.
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The Economics of Luxury. E. Grubb.
Culpable Luxury. W. R. Greg.
Christ and His Times. Archbishop Benson.
Progress and Poverty. Henry George.
Social Problems. Henry George.
The Condition of Labour. (Reply to the Pope's Encyclical.)
Henry George.
The Pope's Encyclical on Labour.
Report of Lambeth Conference on Socialism.
Summa Theologia of Thomas Aquinas.
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Work and Wages. Thorold Rogers.
The Co-operative Commonwealth. L. Gronlund.
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The Co-operative Movement of To-day. G. J. Holyoake.
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Mutual Thrift. Frome Wilkinson.
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